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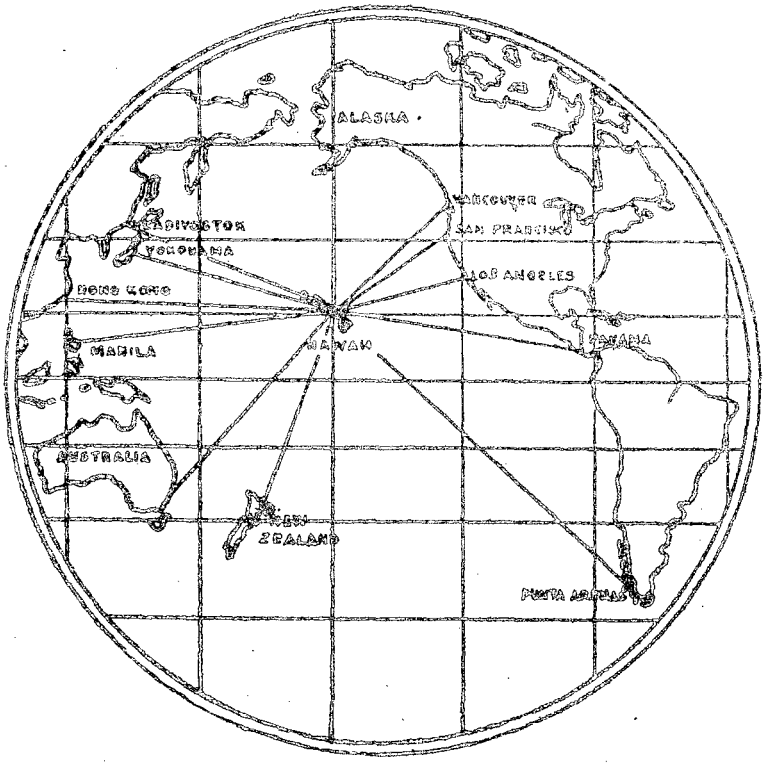

VOLUME XIV

1950

Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.

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FOREWARD

BOB MASUDA

Since their discovery in 1778 by Captain James Cook, the Hawaiian Islands have been settled by and have become the home of various ethnic groups from different parts of the globe. This trend has continued, until today the Islands are the meeting place of at least a dozen different ethnic groups.

Previous editions of our journal have presented various aspects of the cultures which contribute to the cosmopolitan character of our Island world. Quite inevitably, in our efforts to describe and analyze the social processes operating in Hawaii, we have neglected to discuss some of the less prominent ethnic and social groups in the Islands. These too, however, play a part in the total life of the Territory and we have become increasingly aware of the lack of any literature on some of these groups.

Because of the feeling that a more searching account of certain of Hawaii's minority groups was needed, the fourteenth publication of Social Process in Hawaii has selected as its central theme for 1950, "Neglected Minority Groups in Hawaii." We would like to add hastily here that the publication will not contain exclusively studies of ethnic groups but will also consider neglected aspects of inter-racial relations in Hawaii.

This year, Stephen Murin, one of our student contributors, in preparing his paper on "The Gypsies in Hawaii" took some striking pictures of his subjects. Feeling that these shots were too valuable to be overlooked, we decided to include several in this issue to round out an article already alive with local color. It is our hope that these pictures may add to the readers' comprehension of one of our topics and also that this new departure may establish a useful precedent for subsequent issues of Social Process in Hawaii.

Anyone working on a publication of this type will readily realize the immense amount of labor that is involved in order that the final deadline be met. The staff this year is indebted to our advisers, Dr. Andrew W. Lind and Dr. Bernhard L. Hormann not only for their suggestions and contributions but also for their continued encouragement and guidance. We would also like to thank Dr. Clarence Glick, Peggy Kainuma, Tamiko Yamamoto, Henry Toyama, and Jane Kohatsu for their help and cooperation.

A HAOLE'S CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE IN HAWAII

A Hypothetical Approach Using a Social Typology

CLARENCE E. GLICK

What were your first impressions of persons you have known for a long time? More than likely if you try to recall your first contacts with present friends and acquaintances, you realize that your first impressions of them were different from those you have now, but those early impressions have become so blurred and diffused by all the intervening associations that it is almost impossible to recapture their exact character. And one could hardly say exactly when and how later impressions modified earlier ones, although the changes might be traced by recalling various incidents that have occurred during the relationship. Perhaps the first impressions were affected by what one heard of the other persons before actually meeting them; perhaps the first contacts occurred under particular circumstances that created attitudes which were modified when later contacts occurred under other circumstances; perhaps first impressions were reinforced and deepened by continuous association in one kind of situation. Sometimes one may be slightly acquainted with another for years without becoming an intimate friend or greatly modifying one's early attitudes toward the other; in other cases much briefer but more intensive association leads to mutual insight and intimacy.

In the contacts and associations between people of different racial and cultural groups, "becoming acquainted" involves this very same process of constant readjustment of impressions of the "others." As in other human relationships, members of different groups may maintain over long periods only superficial acquaintance with each other, but, in contrast, representatives of certain racial groups may go through many phases in an increasingly intimate knowledge and appreciation of persons in other groups.

Hawaii has been a peculiarly fertile field for the growth of associations between members of different ethnic groups, but these associations have been of a great many different kinds. Not all members of any one group acquired identical attitudes toward other groups or have equally close relationships with members of the other groups. There has been much fluctuation in the relationships between the groups as wholes and between particular members of the different groups. Many persons of particular ethnic groups in Hawaii have never had more than superficial acquaintance with members of any other group than their own. But the great variety of opportunities for contact in both formal and informal situations has meant that many persons of all racial groups have come to have increasingly personal relations with persons belonging to ethnic groups other than their own.

As persons have increasing contacts with members of other groups their changing impressions of those groups seem to go through a certain sequence. One way to get away from formal and generalized descriptions of "race relations" might be to suggest a possible sequence of the changing conceptions of a "hypothetical typical Mainland Haole" in his relationships with people of Japanese ancestry whom he meets for the first time after arrival in Hawaii.

It may easily be assumed that when he first arrives in Honolulu our Mr. H. T. Mainland-Haole does not recognize many of those he sees and

meets as of Japanese ancestry. He sees that most of the people at the dock and on the streets are not Caucasians like himself, but these unfamiliar faces are to him all part of one large category that he thinks of as "the natives." He has seen occasional references in Mainland newspapers to the fact that in addition to whites and "native Hawaiians" there are a great many Japanese, Chinese, and mixed-bloods in Hawaii. He hasn't heard that there are Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, Koreans, and Filipinos and even a few other kinds of people here. Which among these many people, whom he now sees for the first time, are Japanese he can't be certain. But because he has heard more about the Hawaiians and Japanese than about any of the other groups, if he tries to classify anyone he sees he will probably think of him as belonging to one or the other of these two groups. Generally, his reactions toward all of the non-whites are dominated by, "They're not like me." As he shifts from this negative reaction based on their difference from himself he begins to use the more positive label, "Oriental," as a convenient way of lumping together all the people of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino ancestries who are neither "white" nor Hawaiian.

He learns soon after getting here, of course, that the terms "white" and "colored" which are in common use "back home" are not part of the vernacular in Hawaii. He has to learn how to pronounce "Haole" and get some idea of what it means. In doing so he is puzzled over the fact that his Haole informants tell him it is the local equivalent for "white" but not all of those whom he would think of as white are called Haoles. At the same time he is learning the distinction between kamaaina and malihini. Perhaps he overhears some references to "coast Haoles" and realizes that he is one of them.

After circulating among social and business groups in Honolulu, mostly made up of "coast Haoles" like himself, Mr. H. T. Mainland-Haole begins to acquire some stereotyped notions about the different kinds of "Orientals" and of other peoples in Hawaii. "Japanese" or "Jap" becomes one of those stereotypes, along with "Chinese," "Filipinos," "Puerto Ricans," "Portagees," "Kanakas," and "Koreans." Some of the groups he begins to get ideas about are those he didn't even know existed when he arrived. Mostly based on second-hand information from Haoles like himself, these stereotypes are very crude guideposts to the interracial world which surrounds him. With notions he has gotten about physical features, dress, names, occupations, characteristic mannerisms, vices, and habits, he begins to sort out the people he meets into racial categories. He has learned about these other groups, but he actually hasn't learned to know them as people and perhaps is even more socially distant from them than the day he landed. Many of the second-hand ideas he has acquired carried with them prejudices and overtones of attitudes which he uncritically absorbed. Looking through these colored and pre-focussed glasses, he "sees" many things which fit into the stereotypes. If there are a multitude of other things to be observed, he is unaware of them.

If Mr. Mainland-Haole's direct contacts with people of Japanese ancestry are infrequent or are formal and impersonal and if his contacts with other Haoles continue to be largely among those who share the stereotypes which he first acquired, his own stereotypes become crystallized into a fixed set of ideas and attitudes about "japs" or "Japanese" - or "Buddha-heads," as he may come to call them. He holds and expresses with complete self-confidence beliefs about their "peculiar" tastes, habits, mannerisms, ways of doing business, and "things you have to watch when you're dealing with them." If he has contacts with a particular person of Japanese ancestry who maintains some reserve and decorum in his manner, the stereotype

remains intact. In time the mental picture may be filled in with a great many details about almost every aspect of life --- economic motives, sex practices, family life, religious beliefs, political behavior, educational activities, and so on. On each of these points Mr. Mainland-Haole has a ready generalization which is introduced with, "Well, you take these Japanese now . . ."

Obviously, while Mr. Mainland-Haole is developing these notions about the Japanese and other "out-groups," he is circulating in an "in-group" of his own. Unless he has introductions to the kamaaina Haole families his own group is limited to the "Waikiki Haoles" (not all of whom live "at the beach," of course). This group shares the rather smug feeling that they belong to the dominant racial group, even though they realize that there are social circles within Haole "society" into which they have no entrée. As long as he remains within this group his conceptions of people of Japanese ancestry remain relatively fixed. Many of Mr. Mainland-Haole's friends have been here for years and have reared families here without branching out from this restricted circle. Members of the group have come down from and gone back to the Mainland; some service personnel have briefly been a part of it; and many of them consider themselves kamaainas, but they still have not known in any personal way people of the non-Haole groups. When the Mainland Haoles have dinner with their friends and acquaintances they never find any non-Haoles among the guests.

But our Mr. Mainland-Haole accidentally comes to know a particular person of Japanese ancestry, Mr. Tanaka, with whom he has become associated in a business relationship. He finds that he has a good many things in common with Mr. Tanaka and in the course of time meets other members of the Tanaka family. This more intimate experience makes him realize that Mr. Tanaka has personal traits, attitudes, and motivations which do not correspond with Mr. Mainland-Haole's stereotype, "the Japanese." But the stereotype is not questioned -- it is not out of focus, it is Mr. Tanaka who is out of focus. For some reason, Mr. Tanaka is "different from the rest of the Japanese." He is an "exception."

Through Mr. Tanaka, or through impressions about Japanese people that Mrs. Mainland-Haole has gotten from Mrs. Nakamura, her laundress, the number of "exceptions" to the still active stereotype increases, and soon the "exceptions" themselves begin to fall into subsidiary stereotypes. The behavior of Mrs. Nakamura, who has worked for months for the Mainland-Haole family, has been the subject of many after-dinner conversations with other Haoles. Gradually Mrs. Nakamura has become a mama-san and Mr. Kimura, the yardman, has become papa-san. Particular personal traits become associated in Mr. Mainland-Haole's mind with these particular kind of Japanese, having some of the characteristics of Mainland domestic workers but with certain idiosyncrasies which puzzle, amuse, and sometimes exasperate their employers.

Now Mr. Mainland-Haole is himself something of an "exception" in his own group. He becomes interested in finding out more about the Japanese in Hawaii, because some of the things Mr. Tanaka has said he doesn't quite understand. Rather unsystematically he begins to pick up information here and there as he chances upon it in the local newspapers, on the radio, or in luncheon conversations. He sees and hears references to the 100th and the 442nd Battalions. The paper occasionally refers to the "AJA's" which at first means nothing to him though finally he learns that this means "Americans of Japanese Ancestry." He has known that while many of the Japanese living in Hawaii were born in Japan most of the younger ones were

born in Hawaii. In fact, he now remembers hearing Haoles use the term "Hawaiian-born Japanese." Someone tells him that although these young people of Japanese ancestry who were born in Hawaii do not commonly refer to themselves as "Hawaiian-born Japanese," neither do they frequently call themselves "AJA's." The latter is a designation that seems to have originated among those of Japanese ancestry who were born in California and other West Coast States. He is told that the term "AJA" became more prevalent during and after the war when young men of Japanese ancestry who had served in the 100th Battalion or other military units with Mainland-born Japanese returned to the Islands, and its usage seems to be connected particularly with situations connected with their war-experience or citizenship.

After further questioning he finds that among young men and women of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii the term which is being used most commonly to designate themselves is the word "Nisei." This sounds like a Japanese word, but in trying to find out what it means, Mr. Mainland-Haole gets involved in relating it to a number of other words, including "Issei," "Kibei," and "Sansei." These terms seem to suggest differing legal status among Japanese in Hawaii but in other respects they appear to include references to "generation," age, and degree of Americanization. Gradually "Issei" comes to mean to him any Japanese in Hawaii who was born in Japan and who therefore is legally an alien, since most Japan-born Japanese have been ineligible for naturalization. "Issei" also carries for him the connotation of being of the older or "immigrant" generation and refers to someone who still has many of the Japanese ways brought from Japan. At first Mr. Mainland-Haole doesn't learn about those persons who were born in Japan but were brought to Hawaii at a tender and impressionable age and who have become as Americanized as those of their own age-group who were born in Hawaii. When he does learn about these people he doesn't know whether the term "Issei" applies to them or not; they are "Issei" in legal status but are unlike most "Issei" and more like "Nisei" in their substitution of American ways for Japanese ways.

Mr. Mainland-Haole now concludes that "Nisei" is the equivalent among Japanese people in Hawaii for the longer and more awkward term, "Hawaiian-born Japanese," which he had heard the local Haoles use. He realizes that the Nisei, having been born in Hawaii, is eligible to American citizenship and in fact is an American citizen. "Nisei" generally carries the impression of someone young or at least not beyond middle age. The Nisei seems to be someone more Americanized than his parents so Mr. Mainland-Haole begins to realize that there are some cultural differences between these types of Japanese. And what about those "Sansei" and "Kibei"? His Japanese-speaking friends seem to use them to refer to some, but not all, of the persons of Japanese ancestry born in Hawaii. In finding out more about these terms, his understanding of the term "Nisei" comes somewhat closer to its usage among Japanese-speaking people themselves. It now appears to mean literally "second generation," that is, the children of immigrant parents, while "Sansei" means "third generation," the children of Nisei and grandchildren of Issei. When he asks if there is a term for fourth generation he learns that the Issei did not start coming to Hawaii long enough ago for many fourth generation children to have been born. But he is told that the first syllables of these words -- Issei, Nisei, and Sansei -- simply indicate in Japanese the ideas, one, two, three, and, following the same principle, when the fourth generation becomes numerous they may be known as "Yonsei" if Japanese words are still in common use in Hawaii when that time comes.

But there are still the "Kibei" to be accounted for. This word, Mr. Mainland-Haole discovers, literally means "returned to America." Logically, he thinks, this should include any Issei who has paid a visit to the land of his birth, but it actually has a different meaning. He learns that many of the early Japanese migrants did not believe that the Hawaii of the 'nineties and early 1900's compared favorably with Japan as a place in which to rear and educate children. Consequently, they sent children, particularly sons, back to Japan for those purposes. Mr. Mainland-Haole's Japanese friends explain to him the strength of Japanese family ties and the responsibilities of sons to their parents to account for the decision of some immigrants to send some of their children to live with and serve aged grandparents in Japan. If, after a number of years in Japan, these children, who otherwise would have been like the rest of the Nisei, return to Hawaii they are set off from the Hawaiian-reared Nisei of their own age as "different," "not American," and the term "Kibei" is applied to them. It seems then that the "Kibei" is a "Nisei" who because of his experience in Japan is in culture and personality more like an "Issei" than a "Nisei."

In getting all these terms straight, Mr. Mainland-Haole has been coming to the realization that there are many more differences among the Japanese than he had realized, and he is beginning to modify his easy generalization that, "Well, they may wear American clothes and speak English, but underneath they're all still primarily Japanese." Now, in fact, he begins to wonder just what being Japanese means and just how Japanese these people in Hawaii are. In the Honolulu Academy of Arts he sees Japanese prints, Japanese flower arrangements, Japanese religious objects, and in different sections of the city he observes many places of worship which he lumps together as "Buddhist temples." Running across a book at the library by Lafcadio Hearn which describes Japanese culture, he reads it with considerable interest and then finds more books on the same subject. He attends some lectures on the "Peoples and Institutions of Japan." From all this reading and listening he gleans that the Japanese civilization is amazingly complex -- and also that it has changed considerably since Lafcadio Hearn's time. Curiously enough, the more he learns about the Japanese, the less frequently Mr. Mainland-Haole is saying, "Now take these Japanese . . . ."

One of the things he has learned from the lectures on the Japanese family is that in the traditional family in Japan members had different roles according to their place in the family. Mutual respect depended on how well members carried out their roles -- the patriarchal father (otōsan), the subordinate and self-effacing yet dignified wife (okāsan), the privileged sons (botchan), the quiet, obedient, subservient daughters (ojōsan). He has heard about the match-maker (baikainin, baishakunin, nakaudo) who arranges marriages between families. He has learned something about classes in old Japan, bushido, and the samurai tradition, and also about the outcaste group, the Eta or chorinbo, seldom referred to in public conversation.

Now that he has learned so much about the Japanese background, he looks hopefully at the Tanaka family to supply illustrations of all the fascinating culture patterns and social roles he has been reading and hearing about. But here he is considerably let down. The family that he has thought of as being "Japanese" hardly seems to be Japanese at all. The Tanaka's nice new home is attractive and in good taste, but it looks like the homes of most of Mr. Mainland-Haole's other friends. The Tanaka children certainly don't seem to fit the picture of the quiet respectful daughters and sons of the traditional Japanese patriarchal family -- they don't bow to their

parents; Mrs. Tanaka complains about the same things that Mrs. Mainland-Haole complains about in her children; the boys are more absorbed in baseball than in judo and the girls would rather learn the hula than the ritual of the tea ceremony. When Mr. Mainland-Haole talks to Mr. Tanaka about all this, Mr. Tanaka reminds him that they are just one family and that he and his wife, both University graduates, have rather gotten away from traditional Japanese patterns -- in fact, Mr. Tanaka remarks that Mr. Mainland-Haole knows more about the Japanese culture than Mr. Tanaka himself knows. But when Mr. Mainland-Haole meets Mr. Tanaka's parents and some of his more conservative Japanese friends, he learns that in many Japanese families in Hawaii much of the older ancestral culture still persists. Although Mr. Tanaka and his family go to the Congregational Church, his parents still attend ceremonies at a Buddhist temple and some of the Tanaka children's friends belong to the Young Buddhist Association, go to Japanese language school, and the boys take judo lessons.

However, when Mr. Mainland-Haole talks to the people whom Mr. Tanaka considers more conservative and "old-fashioned," he finds that even in their families traditional institutions and traditional social roles do not have the reality and vitality that they seemed, according to the books, to have in Japan. The Issei to whom he talks know what the traditional social roles are and many are still trying to carry them out, but they are finding out that social roles function effectively only when others perform reciprocal and dovetailing roles. The Nisei, to an increasing degree, do not carry out the social roles expected of them by their parents or by older people in other institutions which the Issei have attempted to establish in Hawaii. Some social roles, such as that of the match-maker (baishakunin) are becoming greatly modified in Hawaii as Nisei demand the right to choose their own mates through the American dating and courtship system. While the match-maker may still carry out certain traditional negotiations between the elders of the two families regarding dowry and exchange of gifts, this may take place only after the young man and woman involved have decided for themselves whom they want to marry. In many marriages the match-maker is dispensed with altogether. Another change in the Japanese family which has caused much more personal conflict and injured feelings is the change in the role of the father (otōsan) because of the increasing independence of Nisei sons and daughters with a corresponding decline in their show of respect for the otōsan as patriarch. In fact, Mr. Mainland-Haole gathers from some of the Issei to whom he talks that a great deal of their conversation among themselves is devoted to duscussing how different the young Nisei are from the young people they remember in Japan. He hears them deplore the fact that a young woman who behaves like the quiet, respectful, obedient, subservient daughter -- ojōsan -- is likely to become an object of ridicule among her more boisterous, flippant, Americanized Nisei acquaintances who regard her as quaint and over-dominated by her parents.

One of the firmest parts of Mr. Mainland-Haole's early stereotype about the Japanese was that "they certainly stick together." But as his circle of Japanese acquaintances grows he begins to wonder if they do stick together as much as he thought, or at all. He hears derogatory remarks about certain kinds of Japanese made by other Japanese, often in terms which he realizes are certainly not complimentary, though he isn't quite sure what they mean.

In connection with the young people's decisions about marriage, Mr. Mainland-Haole has run across certain divisions among the Japanese group. Apparently one of the reasons why the Issei parents are so concerned about exercising some control over their children's marriages is

that there are particular groups among the Japanese immigrants who do not want their children to marry each other. Mr. Mainland-Haole learns for the first time that there are two main groups among the immigrants -- the Naichi who came from "Japan proper" and the Okinawans who came from a group of islands southwest of Japan known as the Ryukyu Islands, of which one is Okinawa, well known in World War II. As he learns more about the Okinawans, whom he had at first assumed to be "just a kind of Japanese," he finds that they had had a long history more associated with China than Japan before the Ryukyus were taken over by the Japanese in the Nineteenth century. Okinawan immigrants still spoke a language which was distinct from Japanese, although they also used Japanese. Okinawans, he finds, had many distinctive cultural practices, such as the tattooing of married women, which set off the Okinawan immigrants from the Naichi, who rather looked down upon them. With attitudes of superiority toward the Okinawans, the Naichi generally opposed marriage of their children to children from Okinawan families and the Okinawans usually reciprocated with similar attitudes.

Mr. Mainland-Haole finds that Okinawan Nisei are still disturbed by their uncertain status which is due to the fact that they are generally treated by other people in Hawaii as if they were of Japanese ancestry, while at the same time they are being held at a distance by Naichi Japanese. Some Okinawan Issei, after Japan became a defeated nation, seem to be developing a kind of Okinawan nationalism, trying to develop among their children a pride in being of Okinawan rather than of Naichi ancestry.

When Mr. Mainland-Haole asks Mr. Tanaka about one situation in which Issei parents opposed the marriage of their son to a Japanese girl, Mr. Tanaka looks embarrassed and says it is hard to explain. It isn't because the girl is Okinawan. Finally, Mr. Mainland-Haole gathers that it has something to do with some member of the girl's family having married someone in an Eta or chorinbo family. Mr. Tanaka says that that sort of thing is not talked about much, and the Nisei and Sansei pay little attention to it, although the Issei still consider it of some importance, in spite of the fact that this caste distinction among Naichi Japanese was officially abolished in Japan many years ago.

Mr. Mainland-Haole by this time has gotten on such frank terms with Mr. Tanaka that they can discuss almost any subject and Mr. Tanaka answers Mr. Mainland-Haole's questions about the differences among the Japanese very freely. Occasionally, on picnics at the beach, Mr. Tanaka talks about some of the things that happened to the Japanese in Hawaii during the war years and some of the "types" that seemed to appear then. There was the katta-gumi, the "victory club" member, almost always an Issei, occasionally a Kibei, who was so sure Japan would win that he could not be convinced that Japan had actually been defeated; there was the inu, the informer, who worked with the Haole intelligence officers in Hawaii, giving both true and false information which led to the internment of hundreds of Isseis and Kibeis; there were the kamikaze, the baka-bomb, and the kamikuzu, names given to those Nisei girls who associated, with different degrees of intimacy, with Haole soldiers and defense workers, in spite of protests from family members and friends; and there was the kotonk, the Mainland-born Japanese with whom the Hawaii-born Japanese came suddenly into contact in the Army and from whom they felt distinctly different. After the war, there appeared among the Japanese, as among the Haoles, the "vet," the "disabled vet" and the "52-20 man," whose most important characteristic is their emphasis on their military service during the war years. As Mr. Tanaka explains, most of these terms are already passing out of usage by 1950.

Mr. Mainland-Haole by now has had a good many informal contacts with the Tanaka family and their friends. Mrs. Mainland-Haole has met some mutual friends of the Tanaka's at the Y.W.C.A. and the P.T.A. and while working together with them she has come to acquire distinctive impressions of a good many different "types" of persons of Japanese ancestry whom she discusses with Mr. Mainland-Haole. They are both impressed with the great differences among their Japanese acquaintances in regard to what they think of as "Americanization."

When Mr. Mainland-Haole listens to Mr. Tanaka talking and joking with other Japanese, he hears a good many phrases which seem to be applied to different people in the Japanese community and he pins Mr. Tanaka down about their meaning. Most of them seem to have something to do with how Americanized some of the Japanese regard each other. These terms range from the label "Japan-hiki," applied to people who have hardly any American ways, all the way to "real Haolefied" which means that the persons referred to are "as American as any Haoles." Between these two extremes there are many other types. From Mr. Tanaka and other Nisei friends, Mr. Mainland-Haole finds out that there are actually dozens of terms used to designate a great variety of types of personalities among people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii, some of them traditional types which have long been known and referred to in Japan, some of them types that seem to have appeared only in Hawaii and with different types among the Issei, Nisei, Sansei and Kibei.

Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes familiar with the connotations of some of these terms so that when he hears his Nisei friends using them they give him an idea of the way the persons referred to are regarded by other members of the "Japanese community." Of course, "the Japanese community," after he gets to know a good many persons of Japanese ancestry, hardly seems to him to be a community at all, any more than the Haoles make up a community, but when the Japanese in Hawaii are referred to en masse, "the Japanese community" seems to be the phrase used. In "the Japanese community," then, certain social types seem to have become defined in local usage and Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes interested in learning what the types are and sometimes, in his own contacts with persons of Japanese ancestry, he finds himself using them mentally to classify those he meets. Roughly listing them along a sort of line from the least Americanized to the most Americanized, he thinks of them in an "order of assimilation."

Least assimilated is the "Japan-hiki," generally an Issei, who is a strong and ardent defender of doing things in the traditional Japanese way. Next comes the "Japan-bobura," usually an Issei or Kibei, who is something of a "greenhorn" in Hawaii. He is ridiculed by the more Americanized Nisei, while the Japan-hiki would point to him as a model of conduct. The okusan, the dignified Issei "Japanese lady" in Hawaii follows modified standards for an upper-class woman in Japan and is unconcerned about what Haoles or other non-Japanese groups think about her. The sensei, bonsan, isha, the dignified teacher, priest, and doctor, respectively, are part of the upper-class among Issei Japanese in Hawaii, conscious of their superior positions, but like the okusan, modifying their conduct somewhat from the standards that would be set for them in Japan. They are somewhat more concerned than the okusan about what Haoles think of them. While the Nisei accord a certain amount of respect to the okusan, sensei, bonsan, and isha, who are Issei, they are likely to make fun of the botchan, the son, and the ojōsan, the dutiful daughter, who are the "good boy" and "good girl."

The real leaders in the "Japanese community" of Hawaii are sometimes referred to as the yushi or yushika. They are likely to have taken on

more Western ways than the bonsan or the sensei and are more involved in community activities affecting the status or "face" of the Japanese in the larger, interracial community. They are more sensitive to what Haoles, particularly Haole leaders, think of them. In contrast to the yushika is the odatemon, a "sham big shot" among the Issei. He is a vain person, a flatterer, he expresses his emotions or praise of another Issei much more volubly than would a well-bred Japanese and is therefore suspected and disliked. His more open expression of emotions marks him as an Issei who has been more influenced by Western ways of acting than most of his generation. Another Issei type who has had contacts with Haoles but unpleasant and frustrating ones is the "Haole-hater."

Mr. Mainland-Haole had seen references on the society pages of the daily English-language newspapers to women of the type his Nisei friends refer to as the "society lady." She seems to be the Nisei woman of upper socio-economic status who seeks recognition from Haole society by using those parts of her Japanese cultural background which are most admired by the Haoles, such as flower arrangement and performing the tea ceremony.

Among the Nisei, Mr. Mainland-Haole learns, there are many types which seem to be products of different kinds of life in Hawaii. The furyoshonin is the Nisei pool-hall bum, with little education and so not really as much Americanized through the public school system as other Niseis. He associates mostly with others of his kind. He generally knows no Haoles intimately and doesn't care to. A term which apparently originated among the Hawaiians, bla-lah, a corruption of the word "brother," has come to be used to refer to teen-agers and late adolescents of any racial extraction in Hawaii who have characteristics somewhat like those of the zoot-suiter on the mainland. Mr. Mainland-Haole had noticed all over Honolulu boys in twos and threes, sometimes larger groups, with long, heavily oiled, elaborately combed hair, known sometimes as "duck-tail" or "chicken-ass," tight jeans and brilliant sport shirts, sometimes near pool-halls, sometimes at public playgrounds and parks or near the public beaches. He learns that a Nisei bla-lah has broken away almost entirely from the social role of the son in the traditional Japanese family. The bla-lah associates on a lower or lower-middle class level with youths of other races, uses an Island dialect as his natural way of talking, understands some Japanese but speaks less. Because there are few young Haoles in Hawaii on this same class and cultural level he rarely has any intimate contacts with Haoles. What contacts he does have with them may be in the form of conflicts with Haole military personnel who try and may succeed in dating the titas (local word for "sisters"), the female equivalent of the bla-lahs.

Among the young Nisei girls are the odori-mushi ("dance bugs"), teen-age high school products interested in modern dance music and dance steps, roller skating, bowling, movies, radio comedies, autograph hunts, and the general run of American interests which are typical of American bobby-soxers. The odori-mushi has few contacts with Haoles and usually has no strong feeling toward them one way or another. She is not quite as emancipated from her family as the girl referred to as abura-mushi ("cockroach") who breaks away from parental restraints and plays a fast and frequently losing game with her many Nisei and other boy friends. The abura-mushi is likely to become one of the type called by other Nisei, "Haole-meat" -- the girl who has turned to single and lonesome Haole soldiers and other transient Haoles who want female companionship. She gets a reputation among Nisei boys of being "loose" with the Haole men and they stop dating her. During the war she was the kamikaze. When she marries it

is likely to be to a Haole and if her husband leaves her, as is common, she marries another Haole of the same type. Her companions are likely to be other Nisei girls of the same kind as herself.

Mr. Mainland-Haole gradually comes to realize that most of his first Nisei friends, such as the Tanaka's, are themselves social types whom other Japanese in Hawaii refer to as the "Haolefied." Generally a person who has obtained a high school or college education, the Haolefied Nisei has more or less deliberately acquired middle or upper-class Haole patterns of speech, manners, interests, and habits. Mr. Mainland-Haole finds that there are two different kinds of Haolefied. One kind is the person to whom Haole ways are obviously not second nature and are quite visibly "put on." Sometimes this person has been a bla-lah or odori-mushi and becomes something of a renegade in the eyes of former companions. This social pressure from former close associates makes the position of this type of Haolefied person peculiarly unstable as for a time he attempts to live a dual life. He is laughed at, ridiculed, and razzed by his former group members when he tries to speak "standard English," dresses more conservatively and in other ways shows that he is copying Haole ways. He may give up the attempt and return to his former group whose members, of course, as they get older, lose some of their youthful extreme mannerisms, although they don't become actually "Haolefied."

If the "sham Haolefied" persists in his efforts to adopt Haole ways, he eventually finds that these ways become habitual and "natural." Those of this type who spend several years in undergraduate and professional schools on the Mainland and additional years in post-graduate internships find that Haole ways have become "second nature." They feel relatively at ease when associating with Haoles and some Nisei of this type bring Haole wives back to Hawaii. They do not think of themselves as Haoles but they have achieved as complete a degree of assimilation as is possible for persons who are visibly members of a group which is still regarded as an "out-group" by many of the dominant Haoles. Unless the Haolefied Nisei becomes embittered by rebuffs from Haoles whom he meets in business and professional relationships and becomes a Haole-hater like some of the Issei, he finds a social role and mode of life which characterizes the "real Haolefied" social type.

During the course of Mr. Mainland-Haole's experiences, several important changes have occurred in his mental conception of the Japanese. First, he learned to distinguish them from other non-Haole groups in the population. Second, he built up an elaborate stereotype which he applied indiscriminately to all Japanese. Third, he began to recognize some persons who were different from his stereotypes whom he considered "exceptions." Fourth, the exceptions became so numerous that he had to modify his general stereotype by making "sub-stereotypes." Fifth, these stereotypes began to be inadequate and he adopted a new approach, attempting to learn more about the Japanese culture. Sixth, with that background he came to realize that the Japanese in Hawaii, like other groups, have gone through many changes. Seventh, he came to recognize more and more divisions within the Japanese groups. Eighth, he became aware of deviations among personality patterns and social types recognized among the Japanese themselves. Lastly, he came to know Japanese in Hawaii as individual human beings who share a certain cultural and historical background which give them group identification, but who have all the variations in personality of any large, literate population.

NAMIE YAMAMOTO, A KIBEI

ANONYMOUS

A Kibei is an American citizen who is reared in Japan and returns to America as an adult. The story of Namie Yamamoto, a Kibei, will try to show how the influences of a Japanese society affected her personality organization and her adjustment to life in Hawaii. Her story is one of the many similar stories of Kibeis who have gone through a period in which they have seen their role and status change in the Japanese community from one of "models" to be looked up to as the best example of a Japanese for the Nisei or the second generation, to persons who are often "finicky," "stubborn," "dogmatic," and "waste time" when it came to Japanese customs and values being upheld or carried out.

A young man named Kazuo Yamamoto listened with curiosity to the stories of Hawaii which were told by those who had worked there as sugar laborers. These veteran laborers told him of the money they had saved and of the natural beauty of the islands. Loving adventure and money, Kazuo Yamamoto, with several other young men, signed a contract agreeing to go to Hawaii to work on one of the plantations.

Though he worked long and hard, he was not able to save enough money to go back to Japan as a prosperous man. His struggles to make money was increased by another responsibility -- marriage. Some older Japanese people, who found satisfaction with prevailing conditions, planned to make their home in Hawaii. They influenced Kazuo Yamamoto to marry and make his home in Hawaii. They even chose his bride for him. They chose Tama Hashii, who was visiting her married sister on Oahu. Tama's sister was married to a sugar laborer.

This marriage started a family of four girls and a boy. When Mr. and Mrs. Yamamoto had yet only two children, Mrs. Yamamoto with the two children left Hawaii for Japan to visit her aged father. Seeing that her father was lonely, she left the girl, the older of the two children, with her father. Namie, the name of the child, was then about three years old. Mrs. Yamamoto returned to Hawaii with only her son. As the years went by, the Yamamoto family grew and their struggles to make a living increased. While the family was struggling, the oldest child, Namie was growing up to be a typical Japanese in contrast to her Americanized sisters and brother. Her sisters were all attending American schools. The educational systems of Japan and America made a sharp difference between the personalities of Namie and the rest of the family. The difference in educational values brought, later, many disagreements and open conflicts between Namie and her siblings. While American education emphasized that anyone, rich or poor can be the President of the United States, Japanese education probably taught the sacredness of the emperor. Japanese folkways and mores emphasized the unquestioned obedience and respect for elders and males. Namie's American brother and sisters learned to express themselves freely and to think intelligently and reasonably.

Namie's sincerity for the emperor is ironical as can be seen by this story told by Namie several years after her return to Hawaii. "One day in school everyone was excited because there were rumors that the emperor was going to pass by our school. When the emperor did pass everyone was prepared. We all had our heads bowed very low until he passed."

When one of her Americanized sisters heard this story, she asked cynically if it were not a great temptation to glance up to see the great "Son of God" since she may never have the opportunity of seeing the emperor again.

Her honest answer was, "Since I was a child, the answer is 'No.' I had no thought of looking up and I only considered the occasion an honor to be bowing before the Tenno Heika (emperor). In fact," she added, "if I did look up, the rest of the people would have been shocked and displeased with me."

The hardships in Hawaii made it difficult for Mrs. Yamamoto to send money or presents to her eldest child. The child was entirely dependent on her grandfather. When Namie was six years old her grandfather died and her grandfather's brother took over the guardianship. Her great uncle's only child was in Hawaii so his affection was lavished on Namie, and Namie gradually considered him as her own grandfather. She did not call him "Uncle" but called him "Grandfather."

At the age of eighteen Namie was asked to return to Hawaii by her parents. Since Namie was contented in Japan, she dreaded to leave her "Grandfather." She promised herself that her trip to Hawaii was only temporary, and she was determined to return to her "Grandfather" as soon as she had earned her return fare. On arrival in Hawaii she found her family's financial conditions very meager so she immediately went to work as a maid for twenty dollars a month. When she received her first paycheck of twenty dollars, she considered herself lucky. She was happy because she was inexperienced and did not know any English.

Hoping and wishing every minute, every hour, every day, to return to Japan before her aged "Grandfather" died, she worked for five years. At the end of the fifth year she gave up her goal because her "Grandfather" died. She worked for four more years, a total of nine years, before she decided to leave home. Her parents disapproved her plan; they could prevent her. They had been trying for many years to find a right husband for her but Namie had no intention of marrying.

What was her relationship with her family besides conflicts and disagreements? She was very devoted to her brother. She was his obedient servant. She believed that her brother was the most important member of the family because he was the only one to carry the family name. Most of the time she was indifferent to her sisters. There was an age difference of sixteen years between her and her youngest sister. The younger sisters looked at her with fear and awe. Namie is a dominating type of a person who believes everything she says or does is correct since she is the eldest in the family. She will not tolerate any remarks opposing her from any of her sisters. Namie had no respect for one of her sisters, a college graduate, because of this sister's independent nature. Namie said that her sister should not have gone to college because of the family's financial difficulty. When her sister married a Haole it was Namie who openly opposed it. Mrs. Yamamoto forgave her daughter but Namie is still trying to influence the rest of the family to condemn that sister.

Her attitude toward the war (World War II) is interesting. During the war her only brother joined the 442nd combat team. Was she angry with her brother? No, she made every effort to make his life enjoyable in the army. She couldn't write good English, so she forced one of her sisters to write letters for her. She would say what she wanted to say in Japanese and depended on her sister for the translation. If her brother wanted some

money to spend on a furlough, she would send as much as she could afford, and if it weren't enough, she would persuade her parents to send the rest. She even felt that the family at home should do everything in their power to end the war. She believed that social life should be limited until her brother came home. When the war ended in Europe she was really happy. No fighting in Europe meant that the combat troops were coming home, and her brother would be one of them. On the other hand, V. J. Day meant the opposite extreme. Tears of anguish took place of happiness. She did not believe that Japan would surrender. A stubborn and dominant person like Namie could not believe in surrender. (It would have been interesting to see how she would react if her brother were fighting in the Pacific area instead of in Italy.)

Knowing her past history one can understand her loyalty to Japan. Her formal education was in Japan. She did not attend any public schools here. Her fifteen years spent in Japan was one of happiness and contentment. She liked her life in Japan in comparison to the life she led in Hawaii. She had more friends in Japan while in Hawaii she had a difficult time making friends because she could not speak English. She wanted to go back but only lack of money prevented her from doing so. When the family financial condition improved and she could have begun to start saving for her boat fare, her hopes of returning were gone. Her reason for return was her "Grandfather" but now he was deceased. Right now, if given a chance to choose between staying in Hawaii with the family or going back to Japan, she will undoubtedly remain here. She admitted to her sisters that "Most likely the people of Japan (if awaiting her return) are only waiting for presents and money and their welcome will be superficial." Today, she only wants to go back to Japan to visit her Grandfather's and Great Uncle's graves.

Although Namie decided at first not to marry, pressure from friends and relatives in saying, "You're not too young. It's about time a husband was found for you," finally made her relent and consent to marriage.

She married another Kibei, who in keeping with his role, had an "investigation" of the Yamamoto family tree made by the baishakunin. When asked why not have an "investigation" of his family made, too, he replied, "Our family is clean. Your family, we don't know, that's why."

In the marriage preparations American expectations seem to have entered in. Namie wanted a traditional temple wedding, a tea-house reception, a futon set, but she also wanted a nickel in her shoe, an American wedding gown instead of a wedding kimono, and desired a bedroom set rather than a tansu (Japanese bureau set).

Although Namie, because of her being reared in her formative years in Japan was like a typical "Japan-bobura", and because of being such, had numerous conflicts with her more Americanized sisters, she has been able to accommodate herself into the "American way of doing things."

KATA BROWN

A resident of Hawaii for more than twenty years, Kata has demonstrated that Gypsies can "sink their roots" and become a part of Hawaii. It has literally taken "an act of Congress" to cut those roots, for today, Kata is on her way to Alaska. All other members of the Vitsa plan to be out of Hawaii by July, forced out by a pending law which will prohibit fortune-telling.

HAWAII'S GYPSIES, 1949[1]

STEPHEN MURIN

This report is based on extended conversations with Hawaii's newest immigrant group, the American Gypsy. It cannot claim to be a comprehensive treatment of the customs, mores, or attitudes of Gypsies in general, or even of the small number of these people in Hawaii in 1949. The report is presented, rather, as an introductory study of a little known group.

The writer has not consciously attempted to de-glamorize the Gypsy. Yet, after months of acquaintance and literally hundreds of hours of interviews, the accumulated notes and impressions underscore the barren, empty lives he saw. This is a departure from the few journal articles that have been available up to this time. While all of the literature extant is valuable for its factual content, it suffers, in the opinion of this observer, from the overtones of romanticism.

Hawaii's Gypsies are not romantic. They are not mysterious. In spite of their age-old suspicions, they are not hard to get to know. They are poor, disillusioned, and acutely aware of themselves. They are sensitive to the fact that they are not socially accepted by the community. If their response, withdrawal and nomadism, seems inadequate in that situation, it must be admitted that neither is it unique. Other groups have reacted similarly. The degree of Gypsy withdrawal and its extension through centuries the world over is more a measure of the suspicion with which the world has viewed them than it is an indication of their preference for isolation. The statement made by William Jones[2] at the conclusion of an extended talk with this observer is indicative:

> You don't have to believe anything I said up to now but this you have to believe. This is God's truth I tell you: A Gypsie's life is a dog's life.

Establishing rapport was a problem never completely resolved. The fear that information given would be used against them was common.

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1 The longer paper from which these notes are taken is in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, where it is available for reference. It was originally prepared in the spring of 1949 for a seminar in sociology. At the time, the future of the Gypsy in Hawaii seemed utterly hopeless because of a law which the 1949 session of the Legislature had passed forbidding fortune-telling. The law went into effect July 1, 1949, and within a week after that date all Gypsies had left Hawaii. In December, 1949, the first ones returned to Hawaii, and today they are again a part of Hawaii's population. The law, however, is still on the books and, therefore, is still one of several threats to the Gypsies of Hawaii. These notes were prepared at a time when the law was interpreted by the Gypsies as intending their exclusion from Hawaii. That the Gypsies returned to Hawaii after an absence of a few months supports the thesis that they have sunk roots here. Their return does not, however, mean that their position here is any more secure now than at the time the research was in progress.

2 All family names used in this report are fictitious ones supplied by the writer. Much of the information given is personal and the informant's right to secrecy will be respected.

Among the men, the suspicion that the writer was a member of the FBI was openly expressed. Tiny, doll-like Tschina expressed the fear most cogently, when she said:

> I knew you was FBI. I knew all the time by the way you take pictures of me. First, you take picture from this side, and then you take pictures from this side. And then you tell me to stand up so you take picture to show how big I am.

The fact that these fears were broken down is a tribute to the Gypsies' individual and collective desire to be helpful, and to a lesser degree to their hope that the information would make them better understood in Hawaii.

The Structure of the Gypsy Family

The basic unit in the Gypsy community is the family. While this is true of other ethnic and racial groups, the primacy of the family unit among the Gypsies differs both in degree and in continuity. Control exercised over the family is rigid and purposeful whether exercised through maternal or paternal authority. The role and importance of the individual is minimized in their community. Children, and even young adults of both sexes, are of distinctly minor importance in family councils.

Organizationally, the Gypsy family differs from others in several ways and not the least interesting is the matter of dominance within the family. Ostensibly strongly patriarchal, there is, nevertheless, strong factual evidence that within the vitsa, or broad kinship group, which comprises all of Hawaii's Gypsy population, control is the prerogative of a woman, although there was a reluctance among the female members questioned to concede that a woman could dominate the family, and by implication, her husband. Rose Brown, in commenting on the matter, said:

> The man is boss in Gypsy family. The man is mean. The women? We afraid of the man, our husbands. We do what the man say.

No exception was found to exist among the women in this regard. Both single and married women were asked and agreement was general. Among them, the only reply which added subject for thought was that of Yelena Andrews, nee Brown. Her mother, Saveta, is the woman who unquestionably dominates the entire vitsa and so her attitude is particularly revealing. Yelena said:

> Man is boss in family. He tells what the whole family must do. When he say, "We go from here," we go. Everybody listen to the father.
>
> But the mother is listened to the most because she has the heart. The children all love the mother the most. They live with her. When the son marries, he don't go to live alone but he brings the wife to come to live with his mother. If the mother and the wife don't get along good, the son agree with his mother.
>
> The father don't like this. He don't care much for family. He don't care to have the girl come to live with them. That's 'cause he don't have the heart like the mother has. You know what I mean?
>
> The father don't care about family life like the mother. A family can have a hundred fathers but they (sic) is only one mother. (She anticipated my question by continuing in a half-embarrassed way.) That's a Gypsy saying. . . It's a joke. But sometime a family does have more than one father because girl does not have to stay with her husband. If he treat her mean she can leave him and come home to her father. Then she can get married again.

That statement throws additional light on the subject by introducing the role played in the family relationship by the father. It is quite clearly a very conditional role. The authority residing in the hands of the father in the typical patriarchal family is based on the clearly defined place of that member in a relatively stable organization. In the Gypsy family, this stability is absent, for the nomadism which is rooted in generations of experience with the wider world, is still their usual pattern of behavior.

The Gypsy travels as a family. As a result of past treatment, he has a deep suspicion of civic authority. He finds, and here the cause-effect relationship becomes confused and colored by opinion, that he is unable to obtain employment in the larger community and resorts to a parasitic existence. When the exploitable section of the local population has been exhausted, the Gypsy packs his few possessions and moves again. The continued rejection of the group is reflected in strong feelings of rejection and even in a counter-prejudice against all other groups. This is not surprising, but when it is added to other forms of reaction, it is a potent force. Thus, the local Gypsy population is typified by an extremely high degree of "self" appreciation. They are conscious of being "Gypsies," and they want to remain "Gypsies." Family controls are exercised for protective purposes, that is, to assure the continuance of the customs and ways which they associate with themselves alone, and upon which they have come to feel their survival depends.

Kinship ties are stressed, even when the relationship is extremely distant. A premium is placed on belonging to a family, and the greater and wider the recognition of that family among Gypsies, the better. Acts which tend to weaken or disrupt the steady growth of the vitsa are censured. Outmarriage is condemned as the most serious violation of "the Gypsy way." The severity with which this act is treated by the group is indicated by several statements by women who were asked to indicate whom they would prefer to marry if they could not marry a Gypsy; and also from one specific case in Hawaiian history in which a Gypsy girl married a local resident. This will be discussed later.

While the statements above indicate that the Gypsy family has a measure of stability, which might lend itself to the primacy of the father, its situation is actually so ambivalent that the development of the patriarchal type of family is prevented. The following factors are involved:

1. The inability of the male to become the economic support of the family leads to the assumption of responsibility by the female.
2. The result of this has been the accumulation of economic control of family spending, including the male's, in the hands of women.[3]
3. Inheritance customs among the Gypsies emphasizes the same tendency. The wealth of the family, which in life was administered by the mother or wife, is at death passed to the eldest daughter.

3 Noted also by Louise Rice, "Puri Romani Dyes," Survey Graphic, LIX, (October 1, 1927), p. 25.

4. **The family is not organized to permit independence among its components. When the young marry, they live with the husband's parents. The young husband, however, does not become the head of a family by virtue of the marriage. Not only does he become dependent upon his wife economically, but socially as well. That is, if his mother, his sisters, and his wife earn much money and accumulate plentiful jewelry, prestige accrues to him through them, and not otherwise.**

5. **The custom of bride "sale" is the foundation on which the entire family organization rests. This custom has profound implications culturally. It obviously places a premium on female children; it perpetuates the cycle of male helplessness, for the single male is an utterly dependent creature. He must turn to his family to "purchase" from her parents the girl he chooses.**

6. **The burden of marital success and happiness is on the male. The female may leave her husband at any time, if she considers herself mistreated, and while the Gypsy kriz, or council, may effect a reconciliation, it may also require the husband's parents to pay the bride's parents a sum equal to that paid for the bride when the marriage was first arranged.**

These factors, and possibly others, color and influence the relations within the family. While the evidence points strongly to a female-dominated group, the emphatically stated opinions of the men and women questioned cannot be ignored. William Jones, most articulate male to take part in the discussion said:

> Who is boss in our family? . . . You take this for the truth. The Gypsy family is no different from your family. Say you are married and you love your wife. You don't tell her all the time what to do. You let her do what she wants to do. . . that's the way to get along with a woman.
>
> But if something gets you mad, you tell her: "From now on, we do this, or we do that," and she does it because you wear the pants in the family. Well, it's the same with us.
>
> You take the Nigger people. They get married and you can hear the wife telling the husband what to do. She'll say, "Honey Boy, will you do this or that?" or, "Strong man, do this for me," and you see the colored man get up and do what she asks him to do. But that don't mean she is the boss of the house. When that same Nigger comes home drunk or fighting mad, then you can see who is the boss of the house.
>
> That's what I mean about us; we are the same way. We let the women run things, but that don't mean what those writers say it means. (This was a reference to Rice's suggestion, Survey, Vol. 59, concerning the role of the male, which I had summarized for Jones.)

Regardless of the validity of either of the two views, one fact remains: that is, that the family is the key to the Gypsy community. The factor which aids in the perpetuation of this pattern is the custom of association by vitsa.

The Gypsy Families in Honolulu

The entire Gypsy population of Hawaii, as of March 15, 1949, was concentrated in the city of Honolulu, on the Island of Oahu. The group totaled forty-two individuals, comprising three distinct families, all, however, related by some degree of kinship, by virtue of which they may be regarded as a vitsa.

The precariousness of situation of these Gypsies in off-shore United States has been intensified by the passage in the Territorial Legislature of an act which prohibits, "fortune telling" for commercial gain. At the time of the enactment, it looked like a death blow to Gypsy hopes of finding a home in Hawaii.

While it may sound incongruous to refer to "Gypsy hopes of finding a home", the fact is that many of these people have been in Hawaii for years; many of them like living here and have seriously considered settling here. The total number is small and their absence, if they are compelled to leave by the terms of the law, may not be noted by many, but sociologically their presence, their activities, and their attitudes are significant, if for no other reason than that this is one migrant group which settled in Hawaii because it wanted to do so. Its members were not aided to come, were not cared for paternalistically, and will not be returned to their point of origin at community or industry expense.

Chronologically, the Gypsies have been in Hawaii longer than most residents realize. Far from being a post-war phenomenon, the earliest verifiable arrival was in 1928. The family group that came to Hawaii then was small: about six individuals, including Kata Brown, her husband, Yeremny, her parents, and two other children. Kata is the link between the past and present, for, except for two visits to the Mainland, she and her family have remained in Honolulu ever since 1928. While this is by no means a record for living in one city, it is a period of sufficient duration to indicate that under certain conditions, the Gypsies' predilection for travel is curtailed.

Kata, at that time, was less than twenty, newly married, and considerably thinner than at present. The couple's first child, Dotcha, was born in Honolulu at a time that is not clearly fixed by the calendar. Kata fixes the date only approximately by her recollection that "Dotcha came the time of the big earthquake or the volcano. I don't remember, now." Photographs of Dotcha made at the time of the interview show a husky, strong-faced young woman of about seventeen years. Because education for female children is, even today, not encouraged among them, it may not be surprising to note the indefiniteness about dates. Kata was not alone in this regard; none of the elder matrons could say without equivocation how old they were.

Kata can no longer remember if there were any special reason for their coming to Hawaii in 1928. Her parents did not remain long that time, but Kata and her husband did. From that date to this, there seems to have been no period during which there have been no Gypsies in Hawaii. The number has fluctuated greatly, but Kata is positive there always were a few "here in Honolulu." She and Yeremny visited their family in Los Angeles a short time later, and it was during the return trip on one of the older Matson liners that Bamburik, their second child was born. The name is a commemorative one, for translated from the Romani, it means 'storm' and was chosen because of the rough weather experienced on that voyage.

Kata and Yeremny have recently separated. She had in the meantime, become the mother of nine additional children, the youngest born late in April, 1949. This last birth was quite premature and found the mother alone. She gave birth standing braced against the door-frame between two rooms of her home, and cut with a pair of scissors the tie that bound her to the child.

There is no doubt that Gypsy life centers about the Brown family. Its leading members are Saveta and Tanas, aunt and uncle of Yeremny, who arrived in 1946. There is, naturally, deference paid to them by their children, but beyond this, there is recognition of their status by the other Gypsy families, all related to the Browns. The members of the Williams, Jones, and particularly the Johnson families show their realization of the special position of Saveta in their community. The Johnson family, because its dominant personality, Maraska, is by far the senior in age to Saveta, makes almost no effort to hide its resentment and envy.

The local evidence indicates that leadership is reflected almost directly on the basis of an accumulation of gold and jewelry. Saveta Brown is the undoubted leader in this regard. The photographs included here show her the possessor of huge quantities of jewelry, made almost entirely of gold and gold coins. She was very conscious of her valuables and often asked the interviewer to come again to photograph her when she would "wear all my gold".

The Browns rent by far the nicest quarters of all the families. The home, located on Vineyard Street, is near "Doctor's Row" on the street leading to the medical center. Neighbors are close and representative of the general population. Because Saveta and Tanas live there with two of their married children, the home is quite a busy center. Other family members come to visit and stay to talk for hours.

The Johnsons resent somewhat the fact that Saveta's home is the center of activity. Their own home is much less select, and because it is not located conveniently near the business section of Honolulu, it is visited less often. At Easter time, the subject of the pachiv, or holiday, was discussed with Saveta. She was looking forward to celebrating in grand style since it was one of the few holidays still held in high regard. She said that her home would be the site of the pachiv and that all the Gypsies would come. When this was mentioned to Maraska Johnson and her three daughters-in-law, there was a chilly moment of silence. It was broken by Maraska, who said, "We hold our own pachiv. We ask them to come see us. If they come, we go see them."

Saveta is an emaciated woman in her fifties who appears to be taller than she is. She is hard to understand because of a throat impediment as well as vocabulary difficulty. When she speaks, it sounds as though speech were being forced out against her will. Friendly and easy to know, however, she facilitated contacts with many of the other members of her family. Her relations with them force the deduction that she would be a strong influence in the group even if she were not the wealthiest individual among them. She moves, speaks, and reacts more rapidly and flexibly than they do and gives the impression of knowing how far she can exercise command in any situation.

Her husband, Tanas, on the other hand, seems to hold status through reflected glory. He is quiet and unassuming. He assumes a backward role with an air of complete contentment. He speaks to the children and grand-

children soberly and non-imperiously. The children react indifferently. He defers to Saveta on matters of policy and influence. His daughter, Yelena, for instance, turned to Saveta when she wanted to discuss the question of photographs and interviews. Tanas, close at hand, spoke against the request. Saveta disagreed and gave her approval. When Yelena translated to the interviewer the discussion that had taken place, she concluded, "It's all right. She said I could go ahead." And it was all right, for after that even Tanas permitted photographs of himself to be made. He is unemployed, though by trade he is a tinker and repairman. He dresses quietly but well, and comes to see Saveta each day at her small place of business. Much of his time is spent in a small pool hall where he plays, and more frequently merely sits and talks. Though ostensibly a leading figure in the Gypsy community, Tanas plays a minor role in the family, for his economic dependence on Saveta is marked. (She doles money out to him in small amounts from her own earnings and thus forces him to keep not too far removed from her. When he comes for money, she protests and questions him closely, but this may be chiefly for effect.)

Willie Brown, their eldest son, is stout and balding. He plays the role of a bully toward his wife, Rose, a very handsome woman. They have been married six years and are childless. Both feel a distress about this; and it has undoubtedly not made their adjustment to each other easier. Rose never saw her prospective husband until after all the arrangements had been completed, and though she says, "I wasn't scared. I got used to the man," it is obvious that they are less well adjusted to each other than others in the group of young couples.

They have never used contraceptives and therefore are doubly concerned about their childlessness. In the course of the discussion, Willie asked the interviewer how long he had been married and whether he and his wife have any children. When told that they are still childless after three years together, Willie and Rose looked at each other sympathetically. They seemed to find comfort in the statement.

There is about Rose, his wife, none of the servility that typifies the approach of a number of the women. Her face is strong, commanding. Strikingly beautiful, her appearance is compelling, her bearing proud. She is resentful of the personal relationship that exists between the male and female in the Gypsy community. In this regard, her feeling extends beyond the personal. She rebels against the custom of male superiority in all outward relations. . . his jealousy, domineering attitude, refusal to work. Withal, there is still the complete dependence by Will on Rose for spending money. Rose was the only woman who protested against the centuries-old custom of bride-sale as the method of mate selection. Her own experience she related rather bitterly, yet resignedly: "I didn't want to marry him but if my father fixed it up, I had to do it."

Despite her obviously unsatisfactory personal life, Rose is content with her role and status in the Gypsy community. She envies the clothes and money available to some non-Gypsy women, but would not trade her way of life with others. When asked specifically what she thought of the motion picture standards of living and whether she would want to live like most young women her age, Rose said very indignantly:

> Huh, you think I like that way to live? That's not true. I see moving pictures every week but I don't like them. Sure, they show everybody rich but everybody is not rich.

PEPITA

Pepita is the wife of the Johnson's second son, and the mother of two children. She is not fond of Hawaii and is dismayed at its lack of metropolitan areas.

I want to live like I do now but I would like more money. No. I would never give up the Gypsy ways no matter how much money I made. Work? Sure I would keep on working. You think I want to spend my whole day at home? Sit at home and wait for my husband to come home like American girls do? No! Sit at home and do housework? Dishes?

No! I don't call that a life!

Rose is one of the two Gypsies in the entire group that has made any attempts to use the facilities of the wider community to enrich her own life. For the rest of them, life consists of working, eating and sleeping, -- with an occasional motion picture to vary the monotony. Rose, in the few years in Hawaii, has enlarged the scope of her activity to include weekly visits to the beach. Monday afternoons, she and her sister-in-law, Annie, take off from work and go to Waikiki. Rose is well adjusted to Hawaii, likes the weather, and has made plans to remain.

Manchu is the second son of Saveta and Tanas Brown. He is married to Annie, the chief informant in this series. They were married in 1941, in Harlem, New York, and have one child, Jimmie, whom they call "Koko-Head." Annie is a friendly, talkative woman of no more than thirty, yet a paradox among Gypsy women. She has been an exception to so many age-old customs that one cannot but conclude that she is an emancipated Gypsy, the only one in Hawaii.

True, now that she and Manchu have been married some years, life has settled very much into a set pattern with its even routine. Their one main concern is the fact that they have only one child after almost eight years of marriage. Annie estimates that she should have three already and a fourth on the way. They have never used contraceptives, and never will. Living with her husband's family, she is under constant pressure to raise a large family. She said, "We want to have childrens. If husban's mother finds out we do anything. . . like you say. . . she make trouble for us. She wants the girl to have childrens; it's good for her old age. And the girl wants to have them, too. We sorry if husbans do anything to not have childrens. Young girls sometimes adopt another Gypsy woman's childrens."

Many weeks after the statement quoted above, Annie again spoke, of her own volition, about her childless period. First she advanced the idea that she had reached her "change-a-life." Later, she conceded that she was too young, and asked worriedly whether doctors in hospitals are "good." She then related this personal experience:

I never told you this the last time you were talking to me, but I think the doctor in the hospital where my boy was born fixed me up so I can't have no more kids. He did it by scraping inside me with a piece of iron. I remember the thing because I was coming out of the ether and I heard the three doctors talking. They thought that I was a "bad girl" and had no father for my baby. You see, my mother -- when it was time to take me to the hospital to have my baby -- took me to the big one, the Harlem Hospital.

She thought she would tell the doctors that her girl had no husband. She wanted to help me get good care. She thought if she tell them that, and say "You take good care of her for her old Mother" that the doctors would understand. She didn't think they would say, "Ha, this one is a bad girl, we must fix her up so she won't have no more childrens.

So next thing I know is I'm coming out of the ether and I feel them scraping me inside. I was very sick for a long time after that. Headaches, vomits, excuse my saying so, and dizzy feelings in my head.

As fantastic as this story sounds, Annie attaches great importance to it. It gives her something to relieve her own feeling of inadequacy for being so slow in producing a family. The fact that she once heard or knew of a woman who went to a doctor "to be fixed up so she won't have no more kids" and who later suffered the same symptoms of dizziness, etc., helps fix the story in her own mind.

Manchu, her husband, is about thirty years of age, rather sullen, and appears to be completely broken in spirit. He is a tinker by trade, and Annie says he does "go around." 'Going around' means traveling from door to door or restaurant to restaurant soliciting repair jobs on pots and pans and metal ware. This may be the case, for he is present at Annie's store front much less often than is the case with Willie or Tanas.

Yelena is the only daughter of Saveta and Tanas. She is an extremely warm-hearted person, not lovely but gracious, friendly and yet a bit shy. She is about twenty-four years old, married to Bob Andrews, and the mother of three children. The latter were all baptized in the Roman Catholic Church on Fort Street, even though their parents were not "practicing" Catholics. The children were not sponsored by any of her Gypsy relatives "because it would make too much trouble." Instead, they were entrusted to a man whom she had met just two or three days before the ceremony was performed.

There was no fear on her part that the children would lose any sense of identification as Gypsies because they were given "American" names. She said:

I call them Rose, Jimmie and Pearl. (Pearl, almost two, is still breast-fed and will be until she is "about three.")

I have a Gypsy name, Yelena. Many people call me Helen, but I know that I am a Gypsy. Same way with my kids. I give them American names, but they will be brought up as Gypsies.

Sure, some customs change . . . Like we got no flag; we belong where we are. We used to travel by horse and wagon, but now we go by auto. My mother, when she come here, she come by airplane. We are American citizens, American Gypsies.

(She paused, reached for the hem of her skirt and drew it slowly through the air.) This is our flag. (She laughed in an embarrassed manner and continued.) That's what we say.

We dress like this because it is our custom. Our young girls don't have to dress like this; they can change some of these things, but only while they are small. When they come to be 14, 15, 16 years old they have to respect the parents' ways. Then they have to wear the long skirts. No girl can wear the short skirts without bringing disgrace on the (sic) old folks. Shame . . . we can't bring shame on the old folks. That's why the main Gypsy customs, they don't change.

Mrs. Andrews was contacted more often than any of the other informants, and she along with Annie Brown supplied much of the information about marital customs, descriptions of wedding celebrations, and the Gypsy kriz, or trial. These are among the most rigidly observed, as Yelena's comment, made during a talk about marriage, shows: "The Gypsy marriage is by custom. That will not change. We don't go by love like the Americans do. The man's father, he buys the girl. The girl don't have anything to say about it and the boy don't have anything to say about it."[4]

She, too, is unhappy about the manner in which the Gypsy female is discriminated against by exercise of ancient custom. This is most evident in the field of restrictions on certain actions.

The girl is brought up very strict in the Gypsy custom. There is no rights for the girl. It's not like for the American girls. The Gypsy girls can't go much to school. The old folks believe that it will be bad for the family if the girl learns anything. Many Gypsy girls never learn to read or write. Some learn a little. We travel a lot and that makes it hard to keep the kids in school. Once in a while a girl in a Gypsy family goes to school till she is twelve or thirteen years. Old folks say that if a girl goes too long to school she might catch a boy. (Obviously, the reference is to an 'outsider.')

The Gypsy boy has (it) nice. He can go to school if he wants to. (Yelena did not know of any but she had heard that in New York there were some boys who had finished high school.) He can work outside and have fun. He drinks and plays around with the women; flirts all he wants to till he is about 17 or 18.

Then his father begins to think about his settling down. After he gets his girl and they marry, everything changes for him. No more fun. He got a boss, then. And worries. The wife . . . well, she's like the American wife. She won't let him go out nights with girls or get drunk. If he does, she will leave him and go back to her father.

During the course of the many months covered by these interviews, Yelena avoided very few questions. Questions which it was impossible to ask other informants were asked her. One of such a series of questions was on the subject of morality among their group and with the "outsiders" with whom the women conducted business.

Yelena thought seriously about the question before saying:

The Gypsy is same as everybody else; no different. We know our husbands do many things they not supposed to do. By our custom, the men can do what they want to. After they marry, they supposed to stop. Some them do; some them don't. Some Gypsy girls don't care what the husbands do, but most of them do. Then they fight, and if the husband don't do better, she leave him.

And some of the Gypsy girls cheat on their husbands, too, but there isn't much of that. The Gypsy girl is brought up very strict. If a girl flirts with a gajo (outsider), that is one trouble that goes to the kriz to be settled. The kriz decides what to do to save the girl's folks from shame. Sometime they decide to send the girl to jail, or

4 In many cases, the youth may select the girl and point her out to his father.

if it is serious, they make the girl get married to the man. (The reference to 'jail' was not clear, but may refer to adolescents who are taken in custody for delinquency.)

What makes gajos think that many of the Gypsy women cheat on their husbands is that they see them with different men. But that is not cheating if it happens after she leaves him. It is cheating if she goes with other man while she is still living with her husband. That you will not see a Gypsy girl do.

Gypsy men are the same as American men. Some of them trust, some do not trust their women. Some of them are jealous but not all. If they trust their wives, they not jealous.

The rent paid by the Andrews group for their tiny boxlike "place" was $200 a month, at the time these interviews started. Not more than ten feet deep and eight feet across, the extremely low ceiling completed the illusion of boxiness. Later, the rent was reduced to $150 when Yelena protested that she would not be able to maintain payments at the higher figure. In spite of the rental figure, she and Bob are content to remain in Hawaii.

We came here to see if it was easier to make a living. It was no good in the United States, and too hard to get a license to tell the fortunes. Here it is much better. In Los Angeles, the government makes it too tough on us. They charge us $500 for two or three months' license. That's too much. Sometimes for one month's license. And on top of that there is the high rents. Here it is much better for us. The license for fortune-telling is only $1.00 a year.

The rent she was paying was representative of the group. Amounts that sound fantastic were charged by rental agents who realized their clients could go nowhere else than the "honky-tonk" section of Honolulu. Rents ranged from $90 to $200 a month for the tiny carpet-walled cubicles.

Tony is the youngest child of the elder Browns. He is an extremely handsome youth with Grecian features, the merest suggestion of a mustache, and the recessiveness which seems characteristic of the male Browns. He is seventeen and unemployed. He is restless to be "on the road" again. Three years in one place is too long, he believes, even though it is a place he has enjoyed being in. Tony has gone to school through the sixth grade, most of that in New York. If he felt the family would settle down, he would like to go back to "finish school," but doesn't think he ever will.

I go wherever the family goes. When they leave here, I will, too, but not till then. I would like to leave here now. I'd like to see the place in Texas where I was born, to see what it is like there. And New York! I bet I could find plenty girls there for myself. Here there are no girls for me. Yes, when I get married, it will be by Gypsy custom and to a Gypsy girl. (This is probably the reason he remains in the family, for the youth must depend on his father to buy for him his bride. Striking out for himself would satisfy the travel urge, but it would further complicate his possibility of marrying, so he remains.)

This concludes the rapid treatment of the Brown family in Honolulu at this time. Mention can be made here, however, of the incident alluded to earlier in which a Gypsy girl married out of the group. This incident was uncovered accidentally while attempting to trace another such situation. Questions had been asked of a number of the members of the Brown family,

since they were the original settlers here and might have been expected to remember. The questions met with complete ignorance. When the query was addressed to Rose Jones, who is not a member of the Brown family, the information came tumbling out. After expressing surprise that the story was known to the questioner at all, she said:

Well, you know about the Browns being the first Gypsies in this place. They came about 1928, anyway, a long time ago. I forget the names of the mother and the father, but they had two girls, Lena and Kata. Lena was married to a Gypsy but after they were here a while, she left him. She went to live with a Portuguese man, Johnny Portas. (This is not the real name supplied by Rose.) That was about 1931. They were married some years and lived with the Gypsies till about 1934. They went to the coast then, and she left Johnny and married a Gypsy man. (No children were born of this union. Johnny has since remarried, but not a Gypsy.)

When this information was "leaked" to Yelena and Annie by the interviewer, they readily admitted that it was true. They made no apologies for the fact that up to this time, they had steadfastly denied knowledge of such an event. Even though they conceded the truth of the information, neither would add to it, not even by supplying the names of the parents of Lena and Kata. There is no doubt in the mind of the questioner that they know the names very well, for the man is admittedly Tanas' brother and Yelena's uncle. No other of the Gypsies could or would mention the name of the parents of the girl who had broken the code of conduct, and thus raised the possibility of their rejection by the Gypsy community. Certainly they never returned to Hawaii.

Another out-marriage was uncovered by following the clue supplied by a colleague, George Yamamoto, who recalled hearing of a local girl who had married a Gypsy. It was while on this trail that the other incident came to light. From the fact that in neither case was information volunteered about these infractions of tradition, one may conclude that even more intimate and revealing facts could be learned by an interviewer who knew more about the Gypsies to begin with. It is certainly true that in no case where this interviewer acted as though he knew what he was talking about, did his informants refuse to talk.

The second out-marriage was confirmed by Annie Brown. It was between a Gypsy youth named Stilio, as well as she could recall, who was the brother of Pepita Johnson, the daughter-in-law of Maraska. (Note that here again, information came freely about the members of another family, after Annie was informed that the interviewer merely wanted confirmation.) Stilio, if this be his name, married a girl who was Portuguese-Chinese, her name unknown. This even took place around 1938. The marriage lasted several years and resulted in the birth of two children. The couple separated after the war, Annie believes, when the father returned to the Mainland. The mother retained custody of the children.

These are the two known instances of out-marriage among Hawaii's Gypsies. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find much about them because of the remoteness of the events.

Numerically, the Johnson family make up a large part of Hawaii's Gypsy population. At the present time, this family group is represented by the elder Johnsons, three of their five children, and four grand-children. Of this group, Mara, called Maraska by her daughters-in-law, is the spokesman. She is the oldest individual in the entire colony, and while her exact

age will never be known, she estimates that she is more than sixty but less than seventy years old. Ethnically, she is Serbian and calls herself a "Serbian Gypsy." She is a member of that group of nomads that most nearly approaches the stereotype: the most poverty-stricken, completely unschooled, and most orthodox in observance of custom.

Mara would have been the one person who could have bridged the gap between the past and the present, between life and traditions of the European Gypsy and the American. Unfortunately, language difficulties prevented an easy and natural interchange of ideas. Her own willingness to speak was won after considerable effort, and while this did impress her sons' wives, they were not able to help much.

One very real contribution was elicited from Mrs. Johnson. The interviewer had been exploring the extent to which the "ascertainment" of virginity among prospective brides was still practiced. There was very wide agreement among the women as to the prevalence of the custom, but some disagreement as to what would be done if the ascertainment showed that the bride-to-be was not a virgin. Rose Brown suggested that the final decision would rest with the groom's mother, and that she might permit the wedding to go on if she thought that it was her own son who had been intimate with the girl. Yelena believed that under no circumstances would the ceremony be completed; while Annie very practically suggested that to stop the wedding would throw suspicion on the prospective groom, and that therefore neither parent would want to insist on strict enforcement of custom.

Mara had no compunctions about giving her answer:

> I stop the wedding. No matter if the man be my son, I stop the wedding. A girl who do that is a bad girl. It's a disrespect on the old folks--on the mother and father.
>
> If a girl is no good while she still lives with her family, she will be no good when she goes to live with the husband.
>
> I stop the wedding.

The Johnsons have been the only family which has arranged a wedding. Lilujej ('j' pronounced as 'y') joined the Johnsons after they had settled here in 1948. Their youngest son had selected her before coming here and his father traveled to the coast to complete the arrangements. He brought Lilujej to their camp at Hanauma Bay and Mara planned a traditional wedding. Only the absence of a Gypsy orchestra marred the authenticity of the observed customs. The entire Gypsy community was present, plus their few friends from the city. The number fed each day for the three days was well over a hundred people; the total cost to the family well over two thousand dollars. This figure included the $1,000 which represented the cost of Lilujej to her father-in-law.

The expense was never begrudged by any of the Johnsons who still speak warmly of the period of festivity. Much poorer than the Browns, the wedding did much to increase the prestige of the Johnsons among Hawaii's Gypsies. Even the Browns, Saveta and Tanas, admit it "was a real, old-time Gypsy wedding."

The Role of "Gypsy Ways"

For historic reasons, the Gypsy people have developed a "self" consciousness that is most apparent. Without delving into the reasons, the observer must conclude that for the Gypsy they are valid, and because they are valid, they do explain what to others is mysterious and unreasonable. No other hypothesis make understandable that which is to the Gypsy normal, acceptable, and right.

To the observer, it becomes noticeable that in many instances the Gypsy "way" is becoming softened, or rounded, under the pressure of life in a non-Gypsy world. This is happening constantly, sometimes consciously and sometimes not. The mother, or when she is alive, the grandmother, is the authority or arbiter to whom the family turns to find "what may be done" in certain situations. (Thus, Rava, a recent arrival, mother of several grown children, was forbidden, under threat of physical punishment, to have her portrait made when she turned to her mother for permission.)

Inevitably, city life takes a toll of orthodoxy. For instance, a pattern of accommodation is becoming stronger. Children are sent to school; pregnant women give birth to their children in hospitals, although none of Hawaii's group has ever obtained prenatal care or advice; girls are permitted to wear "American" clothes until they finish school; some males do learn trades other than copper-smithing; and, quite important, city living is appealing to larger numbers of Gypsies and "camp Gypsies" are becoming rare.

In almost every aspect of daily life, the city Gypsy is forced to make concessions to the dominant culture. He uses silver at the table, he eats in restaurants, he changes his name to be "more Americanized."[5] And, while these concessions are being made, many of the individual Gypsies are beginning to rebel against being relegated to the class of second-rate citizens. Some of them see clearly that "the Gypsy way" of dressing and of earning a living is sneered at by large numbers of people. Madrona Johnson said most frankly she would quit "wearing these clothes anytime" if she could. William Jones very bitterly denounced the attitudes of non-Gypsies, attitudes which force the Gypsy into withdrawal reactions. He said:

> The Gypsies' life is a dog's life. Look at my wife. Skinny, sick, bad teeth. You think we like to live this way? Think we like to wear these clothes? These rags?
>
> I'd like her to dress like other women. Then we could go to cafes and clubs at night. Think I don't want to take my wife out to buy her a drink? Sure I do!
>
> But how would you like it if you took your wife to a club to have a dance and you saw the manager go around to all the other tables and say, 'They are Gypsies. Watch your purses.'?
>
> I hate these clothes our women have to wear, and I know that we are not going to make things any better as long as we wear clothes that make us look different.

5 A younger brother of Rose Brown, in a letter to her, told her she should send her reply addressed to "Peter Brown" because "I change my name same as yours on 'count of registration". (Probably the Army.)

YANNA

Called "Annie" by most of her friends, Yanna Brown is the most emancipated of Gypsy women. Aware of her position in a socially rejected group, she literally, though unconsciously, lives the role of Stonequist's "Marginal Man."

My kids, three of them, I want them to have the best education. I am going to send them to school as long as I can. But what if something happens to me? They will have to come back to this kind of life, and it will be even harder for them than if they had never been out of it.

Romantic life? That is to make me laugh; we live a dog's life, Steve, you take it from me.

Annie Brown describes herself proudly as a Gypsy, yet makes a distinction in the way the term can be used. She said that she "gets along" with all her neighbors except when they call her children "bad names." When asked what she considered "bad names", she said, "Gypsy."

Gypsy is a bad name when they call my boy that. Why don't they call him by his name. He has a name. 'Jimmy.' They can call him by that and not call him 'Gypsy'.

When she was reminded that she referred to herself as a Gypsy and that she seemed to have no objections to having the interviewer call her a Gypsy, she retorted:

Well, we are Gypsies. We call ourselves Rom. That's the kind of Gypsies we are. In American, we call ourselves 'Gypsies'. When people know us they should call us by our names like you do.

In spite of the effect of city contacts on some aspects of their lives, there are areas in which adaptation is hardly noticeable. The acculturation takes place in relatively minor fields and is not resisted very strenuously. In the important areas, those reflecting deep-seated and fundamental mores, change is slow and involuntary. Among such are marriage customs, courtship behavior, inter-family relations, and where large colonies exist, the methods of settlement of disputes.

In general, it appears that there is conflict within the group because of the contradictory nature of the desires found among the informants. That this is so should not be surprising, for the Gypsies are certainly a people in transition. The elder members are suspicious of change and resist it. The younger members are so evidently 'marginal people' that their conflicts do loom large. Unlike the younger members of other marginal groups, the Gypsy youth plays a less constructive role because of the minor role permitted the adolescent by the "Gypsy custom." For this reason, even while resisting the Gypsy mores, the young male or female finds it literally impossible to break the influence of the family in bride-sale, or in the 'ascertainment;' to mention but two unchanging customs.

None of the young matrons were reluctant to discuss courtship and marital customs. To summarize their views, only one of them felt that bride-sale was wrong. This was Rose, who resented the fact that she had had no choice in the selection of her husband. Among the rest, there was an apathy regarding the matter that indicated better than words the permanence of the custom. Annie Brown, who was emancipated in many matters, was a strict conformist in this. Her case is interesting and will be related in full:

Most of us girls have nothing to say about our boyfriends. We are not allowed to have any dates or even to go to the show. If a Gypsy girl goes out with a man, even a Gypsy man, she gets punished.

But Annie did have dates. She says she is the only girl she ever heard of who was allowed to go out with "her man." While in Harlem in 1941, she met Manchu Brown. She went out with him three times and was not punished. Note in her account all of the evidences of relative emancipation, while at the same time she was observing all of the fundamental folkways.

We was married in Harlem in 1941. Times was still bad and most Gypsies was still on relief. When Manchu told his father that he wanted to marry me, his father came to see my father to make the deal. At that time a wife could not be sold for $2,000 like my father want for me. He ask for only $1,000 from my man's father.

She hesitated as though wondering whether to confide the rest of her story, then continued:

You write this down. Go 'head, write this down.

I cost $1,000, but my husband's father have only $300. I pay the rest. (It was pointed out to her that she had actually purchased her freedom for her own father, to which she replied:)

I know, but we can do that when we love the man we going to marry. Most girls don't do it because they don't know who they marry till it happens. But I know my man. I love him, so when his father can't pay more than the $300, I pay the rest.

Another concession to the times was made at their wedding. This was the suspension of the dau, or the money offering to the couple by all the invited guests and relatives. Ordinarily, the bride's father starts a plate with a broken loaf of bread sprinkled with salt around the line of guests. By custom, they cover the symbol of fertility with money and gold; the total of which is presented to the bride as an aid in starting their family. In 1941, because of widespread poverty among the group, this custom was ignored.

Still another ancient custom was broken in Annie's case.

By our way, the girl sleeps with her husband only after the third night of the wedding, sometimes after the fourth night. I think this is because the girl don't knows the man she is marrying and it gives her time to get used to him. During the three days, the girl stays with the man's family and gets to know all about him from the sisters or his mother. During the wedding days, she sleeps with the man's sisters and she gets to know them good. On the last day of the wedding, she sleeps with her husband.

But I didn't. I slept with my husband right from the first night because I wasn't afraid of him.

Annie, though emancipated in many ways, still experienced unquestionably the traditional test for chastity. Held at the climax of the third evening of the wedding period, the bride-to-be was examined by both her mother and the mother of the groom. Annie could think of no reason for her own mother's participation in the act. Judging from the bulk of her story, however, one conjecture might be based on the relative freedom accorded Annie by her family. The possibility also exists that she was not always permitted to break the traditional "ways" but that she acted impulsively and independently. From this point of view, her parent may have witnessed

the test for the purpose of "standing by" a daughter who might be judged harshly by another.

After the ascertainment,[6] Annie was brought back to the main hall in which the guests were waiting for the verdict. She was presented to her prospective husband and embraced him. Her father received from the two women the diklo, the bright silk square of cloth, used by them in their part of the ceremony. The diklo was placed atop a short stick, and with this symbol at its head, he started the wedding procession. He led his daughter proudly, for she had been tested and found to be "a good girl." She had lived as a Gypsy and now was marrying as a Gypsy. The Romani way was being perpetuated. The influence of the gajo world had again proven to be inadequate to break down tradition and custom. Another Gypsy family was being established and soon more Gypsy children would be born, and they would grow and live as Gypsies. All this and more was contained in that ceremonial parade, at the head of which the diklo, that symbol of chastity, could now be flaunted.

After the parade in which all guests participated, vicariously responding to the triumph of tradition, the father stopped the procession. He took the diklo and placed it proudly on Annie's head. The young couple joined hands and the wedding ceremony was completed. From that time on, Annie was bound to the older group of women; she joined Manchu's mother and worked for her. From that day on, she was permitted to wear the diklo as her symbol of marriage, and in fact, was not permitted to appear on the street without it.

(One final note about Annie, and this tells more about her and the group than appears at first glance. After she had confided in great detail much that is in these pages, she picked up a rumor concerning the use that would be made of this information. She asked whether this material would be read by other people. When told that the material would one day appear in the University Library in some form, she said: "You know that part about the wedding? Where did you write that part about how I cost $300? Change that. Take it out. Make it $1,000, 'cause they think I am cheap when they read it. That's good -- $1,000 is better.")

Besides these customs relating to courtship and marriage, those dealing with methods of settling disputes among families are still strongly entrenched. From days beyond the memory of either Saveta or Mara, Gypsies have settled their disputes by one of two means. The first is within the family and is used in the majority of cases. Disobedience to the parents, the violation of some part of the code of behavior, flirting with gajos, these and other infractions which concern the members of a family are all brought to the attention of the parents. Decisions and punishments are made and executed thereby whichever parent is ascendant. Observation of the families in Honolulu lead to the conclusion that in all but one family, the Joneses, those prerogatives are exercised by the female.

In communities in which the number of families is large and disputes of a more complex nature arise, another method of settlement is used. The kris or kriz is a method of hearing complaints presented by a representative of an injured family against another family. Little used thus far in Hawaii, because of the close kinship ties existing among all families, most of the local informants said that they had sat in or participated in a kriz in Los Angeles. According to Yelena, whose opinions will be presented as

6 Descriptive terminology after Irving Brown, "Children of the Earth," Survey Graphic, LIX, (October 1, 1927), p. 7.

typical, at the hearing or trial, the accused is represented by the eldest male in his family, and the individual bringing charges is represented by his or her father or brother.

In Los Angeles, where many Gypsies live, there is often kris. We young people don't often go. Most of our troubles start with young Gypsies, but the old folks settle it. They are afraid that if we went we would talk and make more trouble for them.

In old days, there was a leader of the Gypsies. Now, there is no more. Now, when trouble comes, the people come and tell the kris. The kris is made up of all the Gypsies in the city or in the camp. They all, old men and women, listen to the whole story someone tells them and they decide who is right.

In answer to a question dealing with the types of offenses dealt with by the trial, Yelena said:

Well, say a father sells his daughter. Say the girl don't like to live with her husband and runs away; comes back to live with her father. Then the husband calls a kris in the part of the city where most Gypsies live. That night, the husband's father and the girl's father come to talk. Each one tells what happened.

The boy's father tells how the girl was lazy and wouldn't help with the work. The girl's father tells of how the husband used to beat her too much or that he was not a good husband.

The other Gypsies all listen. Then they talk it over and decide who is right and who is wrong. Say if they decide the girl was no good. Then the kris says the girl must go back to her husband. If she won't go, then the kris tells the girl's father that he must pay back the money he got from the boy's father when he sold her.

If the kris decides that the husband was no good, then they say the girl should go back to her husband, but the father, his father, must pay the girl's father again as much as he paid for her before. This is a big thing, and the boy's father won't like it, but he will have to pay it. After that, though, the father will make sure that his son will treat the girl good or she might leave him again.

If the girl leave her husband second time, the kris can do like the first time, or if they believe that the husband is mean, they can send the girl home to her father. And the girl's father don't have to give back the money to (the boy's) father.

There are thus two methods in which pressure is applied by the community and the family to keep the family organization intact. While monetary levies are a drastic sanction and are almost religiously observed, they are not truly effective as a means of maintaining the integrity of the family. Broken families are not unusual; and while divorce is not recognized as necessary, the members consider themselves free to marry again at any time after the kris has approved the separation. There is also one case in these records of a married man who left his wife and children to elope with a younger and more attractive woman. The latter was, by her standards, not acting against Gypsy mores when she visited the home of Panayute, her lover. She went to see his wife to inform her that she was going to go with him and assured her that she, the elder woman, would have no trouble getting another husband. This case, when taken to kris, was pressed by the

father of the girl who accused the lover of kidnapping his daughter to avoid paying for her! Judgment was made against Panayute, calling for him to pay for the girl, but his wife, the mother of his children, was not considered at all.

The significant customs are observed tenaciously, almost as though prompted by a desperate and conscious attempt to prevent acculturation. The seeming permanence of the marital customs and practices, the rejection of civil or police authorities in the settling of disputes, and the dependence upon the kris indicate that there is a realization that certain customs are more important than others. The Gypsies, under the impact of the outside world show an ability to "swing with the blow" that promises for them a lengthy, if declining future.

Conclusion

A summary statement about the Gypsies in Hawaii must be rather general. Though small, the group is made up of numerous individuals whose reactions to any particular situation are unpredictable. Further, even the most general statement about the group must be made in the light of the very troublesome predicament with which it is faced in Hawaii.

The first, though not necessarily the most important, difficulty is that caused by the withdrawal of thousands of servicemen by the Federal government. This action has hit most acutely the earning power of the Gypsies, for as the notes indicate, very little of their income is earned from services to local residents of Hawaii. The fact that few, if any, of the males are able to contribute to the support of their families serves to intensify the impact of the government's action on the Gypsy family. It is true that Gypsies have in times past and in other places been dependent upon transient populations for their support; and it is true that they have been pauperized by the sudden or gradual emigration of the population. In Hawaii, this problem has differed only in degree, for the number of servicemen and war industry workers who have departed has reached tens of thousands. In the Islands, the most logical and expected reaction of the Gypsies to this movement has been denied them. The mobility of the Gypsy, which in other places serves to effect a balance between the number of Gypsies and the exploitable population of the area they are in, is severely limited.

The fact that there is only one metropolitan area forces the entire colony of Gypsies to remain in Honolulu, for this is the center to which servicemen and transient workers drift.

The second cause for concern facing the group is the uncertainty regarding their legal right to remain here. The passage by the Legislature of the act prohibiting the one activity by which the Gypsies have been able to earn their living has shaken their community.

An insight into the low degree of integration of these people into the wider community was revealed when the bill was before the Legislature. This is literally a voiceless group in local community affairs. The legislation against the Gypsies was bipartisan and moved through the various channels of readings and committees smoothly and quietly. No publicity about the proposed bill was printed except in one daily afternoon newspaper. Brief statements were made on the occasion of the first, second, and third readings of the bill in the legislative summary. No statements were made about the need for this legislation, and no letters appeared discussing the effects of it on the community.

Reaction to the news of the legislation has been varied. Some individuals were concerned from the first; others became worried only after they became convinced that the act was aimed at them. There was a period of disorganization noticeable particularly among the younger married couples. About the last week of April and the first two weeks of May, 1949, they seemed particularly distressed. For days at a time, Rose, Annie and Yelena did not come to their "places." Money was never more needed; savings had to be built to pay fares to the Mainland for large families, yet the members who earned the money stayed home. When asked why they had stayed home so often during this period of three weeks, one of them said: "What's the use? I got a family. . . my husband, three children, and my old folks. How can I make enough to take us all back to Los Angeles. No use to try to work."

One of the older woman said: "How we going to go back? We can't. We got no money. If they don't want us here, they pass a law. But where we going to get the money to go? Are they going to pay to send us back? We got no money."

A number of families began the exodus. The Joneses and the Williams left Hawaii for California. One branch of the Brown family, Kata, her mother and sister, and a number of children started for Alaska during May. By July 1 all had left except William Jones and his family. They left the following week.

In the last weeks of December, 1949, however, Saveta and Tanas Brown returned to Honolulu. They had decided that their future lay in Hawaii -- and law or no law, here they came. Within one month at least twelve other members of the vitsa were with them. The Gypsy was back in Hawaii.

Further observation of the group in Hawaii may now be possible. It is the opinion of this observer that the Gypsies provide an opportunity to study a distinctive people under extremely favorable conditions. The social process, which affects all groups at all times, has been particularly interesting in the case of the Gypsies in Hawaii. The small size of the group, their high visibility, and their willingness to cooperate in a study of this sort contributed to ideal conditions for observations.

There is, at this moment, nothing to be optimistic about regarding the future of the Gypsies in Hawaii. The year 1949 marks the period during which their banishment was temporarily brought about by legislative means. If the experience of other nations can teach Hawaii anything, it should teach that banishment is not the most effective method of dealing with them. Hawaii, which has been successful in the past in harmonizing the aspirations of varied national groups, has never before tried to find a solution by depriving any of them of their means of employment.

England, where the Gypsies have almost completely lost their identity, stands out as a land which has learned how to live with the Gypsy. The Gypsy there has been allowed to live in his own fashion; he has been free to move or to stay in the city. Where he has chosen to stay, special efforts have been made to give him training in skills that are useful to the community and profitable to the individual. These efforts have been repaid by the attainment of dignity and personal pride by these people which has accrued to the nation they proudly call theirs.

But the future of the Gypsy people in Hawaii rests also with the Gypsies themselves. In addition to pressures from the outside, they must face their own problem, a reluctance or inability to adopt the stable occupational and personal patterns of behavior of their fellow-citizens.

THE GYPSY FUTURE

This portrait of Bessie, Pearl, and Rose shows more than the faces of Gypsy children. Shown by the dress and play habits, hinted at by the religious medal, and enforced by parental admonition are evidences of the culture conflict which is molding the American Gypsy of the future.

THE CAUCASIAN MINORITY

BERNHARD L. HORMANN

The present article deals with the group which is usually considered dominant in Hawaii, the Haoles. From the point of view of numbers however, they are not dominant, but a minority like every other group in Hawaii. Because of their economic, political, and social dominance they sometimes have to face a form of opposition from all the other groups combined, and acquire in this situation, besides intensified numerical subordination, also the sociological role and psychological traits of a minority group. Furthermore, the Haole population can itself be broken into several separate minority groups. The members of each, like persons from the non-Haole ethnic groups, must find their natural place in the still evolving social structure of Hawaii.

To look at the Haoles in this unusual perspective gives us an opportunity to understand their behavior somewhat more realistically. That at least is the burden of this article. It is indeed just because Haoles tend to be generally regarded as a dominant group that they may here quite appropriately be considered a "neglected" minority group.

Before proceeding with our discussion, we may note how the usual emphasis on the dominance of the Haoles leads to futile controversy and stands in the way of our understanding of the Island interracial scene. When a group is "dominant," the assumption is that it is "responsible" or "to blame" for a situation. For instance, the person who comes from the Mainland with no preparation for the local system of race relations and with previous experiences with persons of other races of an entirely different sort, is frequently bewildered and shocked by what he finds here, and consequently begins to criticize the racially "careless" attitude of local Haoles. Or, on the other hand, the newcomer may have expectations about Hawaii's racial harmony. When he runs into instances of discrimination, he tends to find the local Haoles "at fault." There result many long but vain arguments about whether the situation in Hawaii is "improving" or "deteriorating" and whether the prejudice which is found here is to be attributed to the kamaaina Haole or to the recent Haole or perchance to the Oriental.

One concrete illustration of such a controversy must suffice. It occurred in the pages of the Honolulu Record for January 27 and February 3, 1949. Frank Marshall Davis, a Negro journalist recently from the Mainland, had encountered in Honolulu a "growing anti-Semitism," "an increasing number of cafes, taverns and apartment buildings which ban Negroes," a "whispering campaign, intended to keep Japanese, Koreans, Chinese and Filipinos divided," "white supremacy." He attributed these tendencies mainly to the Mainland Haoles, who, he claimed, imported them from the Mainland.

In the following number John E. Reinecke took issue with Davis. As a result of his background of long residence in Hawaii, Dr. Reinecke made three points, first, that whatever discriminatory practices existed on the part of the Haoles in Hawaii were largely traceable not to the Mainland, but to the plantation system; second, that members of the various ethnic groups in Hawaii other than Haole have mutual prejudices which are in no sense importations from the Mainland; and third, that "a good argument could be

made for the thesis that Mainland haoles in Hawaii have been a liberalizing force as compared with Island-bred Haoles; that they have mingled on a more equal footing with non-Haoles than have most of the people who were brought up in the Island Haole tradition."

The third point is obviously on the same level as Davis': racial attitudes are to be explained largely in terms of a diffusion from an outside source. People are responsible for bringing them in. In this case, Mainland haoles have brought in attitudes favorable to closer interracial mingling. Such an analysis leaves out of account the dynamics of the past and present local situation which, in the present writer's contention, largely create the attitudes and typical forms of interracial behavior. Reinecke's first point involves such a realistic appraisal: Under his second point come some imported attitudes (e.g. those initially establishing Okinawan-Naichi relations), as well as attitudes produced in the local situation (e.g., resistance against the out-marriage of children).

It is the writer's feeling that in attempting to interpret the behavior of peoples in the local situation an exaggerated amount of attention has been turned to the societies and cultures from which the peoples came, and far too little to the genesis of behavior patterns out of the developing local situation. One of Romanzo Adams' stories comes to mind. A Southern white man recently arrived in Honolulu was heard to remark, "Well, you may call them Kanakas, but where I come from we call 'em niggers." However, within a year this same man had married a woman of Hawaiian ancestry.

Turning now to the Haoles, we will develop two important facets in their situation in Hawaii, both of which involve them in behavior characteristic, not of dominant, but of minority groups. These two important considerations are, first, relative isolation of numerical minority status, and second, status ambivalence, that is, the problems of fitting into Hawaii's complex social structure marked by ethnic diversity and a two-class somewhat caste-like society in process of changing to the three-class system characteristic of the Mainland.

Haole Diversity

As was suggested above, the Haoles' minority position is intensified by their not being, in origin, a single group. The lack of fundamental unity among Haoles is something of which all local people are aware, and is perhaps best symbolized by the fact pointed out in earlier issues of Social Process that the Portuguese, while since 1940 having achieved official statistical recognition as Caucasians, are still not certain of their position as "Haoles."[1]

In further elaboration of this point of Haole diversity, the reader may be reminded of the many components which have gone into the local Haole population. American, French and English missionaries; sailors and beachcombers from all European nations; clerks and merchants, lawyers and physicians from England, Germany, and the United States; Caucasian sugar plantation workers from Portugal, Norway, Italy, Russia, Poland, and the United States; American troops and defense workers: these all have contributed to the local Haole population. Thus diversity is obvious.

1 See, for instance, the writer's "Racial Statistics in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, XII (August, 1948), p. 30.

The detailed facts about the Caucasian sugar plantation workers are not widely known and warrant a brief summary. Some years ago the writer made a study of the Germans in Hawaii and found that in the period from 1881 to 1897 almost 1,500 Germans, including men, women, and children, were recruited for the labor force of Hawaii's plantations.

The Germans had been preceded by the Portuguese, the first contingent of whom arrived in 1778 and who continued to come down into the second decade of this century. The 1930 Census, which was the last to take separate notice of them, found 27,588 Portuguese. They are by far the most important group of Caucasian immigrants of the peasant and laboring class. Most of the Portuguese came from the Madeira, and Azores Islands, some from Portugal proper, some from the Portuguese settlement in Massachusetts in about 1907, and also about that time about five hundred were brought back from California, where they had migrated from Hawaii. Before the arrival of the first German workers a total of 615 Norwegians had been introduced in 1881, most of them probably going to Maui plantations. Some of the ships bringing Germans in the 1880's and 1890's also brought in some Galicians from what was then the Polish part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

After annexation in 1898 and the organization of the Territory of Hawaii in 1900, American law put a stop to the importation of contract labor. In 1907, the Gentlemen's Agreement made impossible the further importation of Japanese males. Thus, Hawaii's sugar industry was threatened with serious labor shortages. Once again, white labor was considered.

Ewa Plantation experimented with American farmers, introducing fifteen families from the Western states. Houses were erected especially for them. They were each given a garden patch and a "common" for their combined use as pasture. They were assigned lots in the cane fields to be cared for by them. The arrangement was apparently mutually unsatisfactory. After about a year none of the families remained. According to Governor Carter "the white man can not and will not stand the work of tropical cane fields."[2]

Some Italians were also introduced. Whether any came directly from Italy and whether they were several importations the writer has been unable to determine. There was certainly mention as well as actual investigation of Italy as a possible source in the late 1870's.[3] The 1900 Census found fifty-eight foreign born Italians, three-fourths of whom were males. A few Italians were brought in from the sugar plantations of Louisiana, probably soon after annexation.[4] In 1907 some effort was made to bring in Italian immigrants from New York, but nothing materialized.[5]

2 Governor of Hawaii, Report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 10.

3 Hormann, op. cit.

4 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1902, p. 22.

5 Board of Immigration of Hawaii, Second Report to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Period from Dec. 31, 1906 to Feb. 28, 1909, passim.

Whether Hindus should be mentioned here depends on the definition of Caucasian. In view of the fact, however, that no trace of this group remains, it is surprising to note that Hawaii's Board of Immigration notes the importation of over four hundred in the period from 1905 to 1911, almost exclusively males.

The Russians too have left little trace, and yet in the period from 1909 to 1912 the Board of Immigration reports that a total of 2,056 Russians, many in family groups, were imported from Manchuria. They do not seem to have remained long in plantation work, but not all left immediately, for many took various skilled and unskilled non-plantation jobs in and around Honolulu.

These Russians had been preceded by a group of 110, all belonging to the Molokan sect, who were brought in from Los Angeles in 1906 and placed on lands of the Kealia plantation. Disagreements quickly developed and they left, having been declared locally a failure.[6]

Seventeen Poles were introduced in 1913. They all went to Wailuku, where they had relatives.

The only other major Caucasian group to be mentioned is the Spanish.[7] Just under eight thousand came in from 1907 through 1913. They soon, like the others, left in large numbers for the Mainland, so that by 1938, the Bureau of Vital Statistics estimated that the Spanish population, including Hawaiian-born, numbered only 1,248.[8]

It must not be assumed that for all these groups the migration away from Hawaii was complete. Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Spanish, Italians remained and have become merged, both with the wider Caucasian group and the wider population as a whole.

Isolation

If we consider the total number of persons classified in this wider Caucasian group, we find them achieving their highest proportion in the total Island population on July 1, 1948, when they constituted by estimate 33.4 per cent of the civilian population of the Islands. According to the most recent estimate of the Bureau of Health Statistics, their proportion on January 1, 1950 was down to 29.8 per cent.

At earlier dates the proportion of Caucasians was even smaller. In the 1910, 1920, and 1930 Censuses the Caucasians came consistently to just under or just over 20 per cent. In 1940 their percentage was 24.5. These percentages, however, included military population stationed in Hawaii, as the figures after 1940 do not.

The percentage of Caucasian school children has been very small. In 1945, when the last returns by race of the school population are available, the percentage of Caucasian children in the total public and private

6 See "Retrospect" in Thrum's Annual for 1907.

7 For a report on the Puerto Ricans, see the article by Lee M. Brooks in Vol. XII of Social Process.

8 George F. Schnack, "Subjective Factors in the Migration of Spanish from Hawaii to California," (M.A. Thesis, Department of Economics, Leland Stanford University, no date, passim.

school population was only 5 per cent. Interestingly enough, the percentage of Caucasian children has shrunk over the years. In 1928, for instance, the Caucasian children came to 17 per cent of the total school population. This shrinking is due to the growth of a large second and third generation in the non-Caucasian immigrant groups.

In a very real sense, therefore, it is correct to speak of the Haoles as always having constituted a numerical minority in the Islands.

This numerical deficiency of the socially, economically, and politically dominant group, when combined with other factors, such as the non-contiguity of the Island territory to the U. S. Mainland and the expense and complications of travel to home territory and the climatic, cultural, linguistic, and racial uniqueness of the Islands, makes for the isolation to which earlier reference was made.

That the Haoles of Hawaii experience real malaise here is a thesis which may sound fantastic to those non-Haole elements of the local population who have experienced the domination and super-ordination of Haoles. It may even seem strange to Haoles themselves. The fact is that many Haoles may not be completely aware of the extent to which they experience malaise.

There is room to present only a few bits of evidence about the existence of such malaise, merely enough to indicate the direction research might take in the substantiation of the thesis. We can go back to the early missionaries for some of the first evidence of malaise.

One of the most interesting accounts of the life of the early New England missionaries is Lucy Thurston's Life and Times (Ann Arbor, Michigan: S.C. Andrews, publisher, 1882; republished by the Friend, Honolulu, 1934). A member of the first company of missionaries, which arrived in 1830, she describes her life on a lonely mission station, where she, the only white woman, was often left home alone when her missionary husband was traveling or teaching. She could not shut out the natives, who swarmed in, helped themselves to household goods, spoke in a language she could not understand, and upon one or two occasions she was terrified by intoxicated natives. On one such occasions, her husband was called. She wrote about this incident,

> "As long as action was required, my strength, courage, and self-possession were equal to the emergency. But when I sat down in my own dwelling, safe beneath the protection of my husband, there was a mighty reaction, then came prostration, trembling and tears."[9]

One of the most painful aspects faced by the Congregational missionaries concerned the future of their own children. They early came to the conclusion that without the careful supervision which busy missionary parents were not in a position to give them, the children were subject to all kinds of contaminative influences. As Mary Alexander and Charlotte Dodge put it, "Highly educated, these parents wished their children to have the advantages which could be had only by sending them to the States . . . . Today it is hard to realize the primitive conditions surrounding their homes, to which the early mission children were exposed and from which their parents wished to separate them. This was before Christian standards of conduct had been adopted by the Hawaiian . . . . The only family of children who had come out with the pioneers on the brig Thaddeus mingled freely with the

9 Ibid., p. 50.

natives for two years, until the arrival of a deputation of English missionaries . . . . from Tahiti. These men admonished the Sandwich Islands missionaries not to let their children learn Hawaiian and to keep them entirely separate from the natives. They told of the pernicious results in Tahiti through carelessness on this point . . . . From the time of this visit the children of the mission were kept by themselves, away from the then open indecencies; the Hawaiian language was tabu to them while they were young, and many were sent to the States."[10]

The authors describe the resulting heart-rending separations of children as young as five from their parents, until the establishment of Punahou School in 1841 finally eliminated the necessity of these leave-takings. They speak of a number of missionary men and women who broke or almost broke under such strains.

It is a telling fact that even today the fear of contamination persists on the part of Punahou School. It now no longer concerns the Hawaiians, but the Orientals, and the fear is not one of "moral" contamination, but rather one of linguistic contamination. Some time in the 1890's "a proposal to limit the number of Orientals to 10 per cent of any grade was not acted upon formally, though it seems to have been the actual practice of the school thereafter. In 1918 the policy was given a certain recognition in the Federal survey of that year, during which it was described in a committee report adopted by the trustees as 'having worked well'".[11] Two or three years ago this informal practice was modified by increasing the percentage of Orientals to 15[12] and one may presumably look to further such increases, and to the eventual elimination of such quotas.

Turning now to another period and sub-division of the Haoles, we may take a glance at the reaction of the German labor immigrants to their new surroundings. A large proportion of them went to Lihue Plantation on the island of Kauai, where in the middle eighties they constituted almost exactly one-fourth of the total population. Most of these people had had little preparation for life under such a combination of new conditions: the plantation system, the tropical climate, and the presence of peoples of other cultural and racial backgrounds. "With what trepidation," the writer wrote in his master's thesis twenty years ago, "at least a few of the immigrants must have come here can be seen by the fact that the relatives in Germany inquired upon the birth of the first children whether they had been born black."[13]

This lack of preparation led to some difficult experiences. For instance, one woman reported that

> One afternoon when I was alone at home soon after our arrival at Lihue, I saw a dark Kanaka coming right toward our house. I was very much frightened, thinking that he wanted to do some harm. In terror I ran to the neighbor woman, who finally quieted my fears by explaining that the man was only the collector of dog taxes.[14]

10 Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, Punahou, 1841-1941 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), pp. 9 and 10.

11 Ibid., p. 463.

12 Information given to a visiting class of University students in 1948.

13 Bernhard L. Hormann, "The Germans in Hawaii," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Sociology Department of the University of Hawaii, 1931), p. 72.

14 Ibid., pp. 71-72.

The new Haole's sense of strangeness and the feeling of not being accepted continues down to the present. A few years ago, one of the writer's students, a young Haole woman, wrote of her childhood experience upon first moving to the Islands with her parents. They took up residence on one of the outside island plantations. She described how on the Mainland one of her best friends had been a Chinese-white girl, for whose sake she had given up the friendship of a snobbish white girl. She then continued:

> I have never regretted the loss of Romona's friendship nor have I heard of her since the time we no longer played together. I only remember her as someone who hurt a little girl who needed friends and thought she was too good to play with her. Yvonne and I played together until I was eight and would have continued in being playmates had not my parents and I left for the Hawaiian Islands. And when we did arrive in the Islands I really became conscious of the fact that I was white.
>
> Here is how it all came about. My first day at grammar school was very painful (I was eight at the time and in the third grade). I went to school dressed as the children in the states dressed at that time. Shoes and socks, a little dress which was above my knees and panties to match which hung below my dress. The school children (Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, and it seemed so many others whose nationalities I could not name because they looked like the others and yet were different) all stared at me as if I were something out of a circus because my dress was different, I did not speak "Pidgin English" and I was from the States. I was the only so-called "Haole" child in the classroom and I did not have the slightest idea what "Haole" meant. I was also called "Pake-pants" because of the way I was dressed. I was quite miserable. My teacher was Japanese and even though I had seen Japanese people before I never had the experience of having one for a teacher. When the Japanese children in the classroom (the majority were Japanese) did not understand what she said in English she would talk Japanese to them so they could understand, so they learnt their daily lessons that way and the rest of us were left out in the cold. The results were that I did not progress in my school work plus having to fight my way home because some child took it upon him or herself to give the D---n haole a dirty licking.
>
> I was taken out of this school and put into another which I attended until I graduated. From that time on and through high school and even now I am called a haole and sometimes a few extra words which go before it.
>
> During these years I have become very conscious of the different races and the difference between them. What started it all was the treatment dealt to me as I was going to school. I was willing to make friends with the different races, but they did not seem to want my friendship because I was a haole. There always seemed to be jealousy towards me on their part. This made it difficult for me, so naturally I stayed to myself most of the time. When I did ask the children if I could join in their play I was told to go somewhere (nine times out of ten) - (the children used profane language). Perhaps they delighted in tormenting me because I was smaller than they and because I was haole. Had I been bigger they might have treated me better. Some of them would ask me questions about the states and then I would tell them about the snow, the large buildings, the street cars, etc. they would call liar-kind to me and laugh in a mean way. But to make a long story short I grew to dislike some of the children whereas some of them turned out to be my friends.[15]

The writer has heard of a number of families who moved back to the Mainland because one or the other member could not become adjusted here. In one case, a man in one of the professions living on a plantation found that the older of his two girls, aged about nine, had been unable to make friends and felt quite unhappy here, although the younger one was well adjusted. He and his wife decided to return to the Mainland.

Not only on the plantation, perhaps even more in the city of Honolulu have some Haoles experienced the sense of malaise. It is perhaps not so much those who have definite racial attitudes coming from parts of the Mainland characterized by racial heterogeneity, as those who are completely inexperienced in cross-racial contacts, coming from small homogeneous communities, who have difficulties of adjustment in Hawaii. From a student at Roosevelt College of Chicago the writer last summer obtained the following account involving upper middle-class people in a small Illinois city:

> An American-born Japanese girl was at our home today to apply for a position as a maid, as my mother had been ill for quite some time and needs help with the house. This evening when I came home from work my mother told me she turned the girl down because she felt Japanese people were very sneaky and sly.

There is of course no way of telling how many Haoles coming to Hawaii have such potential fears.

Psychologically, the sensitive Haole who comes to Hawaii expecting to mingle with people of different races but who is soon told by the resident Haoles with whom he is first thrown into contact that he must confine his more intimate social life to Haoles, is also put in a difficult situation conducive of malaise.

The writer has been told that Army and Navy authorities have a persistent problem involving some wives of officers and enlisted men who "hate" Hawaii and have to be transferred back to the Mainland because of their unhappiness.

The superficial diagnosis for these maladjusted persons frequently is that they could not stand the climate. In this connection it is significant that a geographer, A. Grenfell Price, in a comprehensive study of the acclimitization of whites in the tropics came to the conclusion that isolation rather than climate was involved. He noted that on all cultural frontiers, regardless of climate, where whites have resided and been outweighed numerically by a native population, maladjustment is common. On the other hand, when whites have colonized tropical areas and supplanted the native population, this sort of maladjustment tended to be absent.[16]

For persons to whom Hawaii is their native home, it may be difficult to understand that people from the Mainland can have such a sense of isolation. It is necessary for us to put ourselves imaginatively into the place

15 Hawaii Social Research Laboratory files, UH Sr-77 III, pp. 11-12.

16 A. Grenfell Price, White Settlers in the Tropics (New York: American Geographical Society, 1939).

of people who are separated by over two thousand miles of water from the continent on which their loved ones live. On the Mainland they can travel easily and cheaply by coach or bus or in their own car over distances of many hundreds of miles. In illness and in death, for marriages and other happy occasions, close relatives can get in touch with each other. If the persons come from smaller communities, they are used to moral support, the friendly interest of neighbors.

In Honolulu, conditions are radically different. The sense of distance, in spite of the speed of air travel, overpowers every family of moderate income whose closest ties are with the Mainland. In the urban setting neighborly relations are established only with difficulty. The local Haole population has sometimes been characterized as stand-offish except to people who come with "good introductions." If the Mainland Haole chances to move into a neighborhood having several non-Haole families, diffidence and anxiety on both sides may prevent the establishment of more intimate relations. If in addition, the children in the neighborhood speak the local dialect, and the neighbors in various ways exhibit "strange" customs, the Mainland Haole family may have all their fears confirmed of being isolated in a strange land.

Thus, while with the increasing urbanization and Americanization of Hawaii's peoples and with the reduction in travel time, this sense of isolation and malaise is being reduced, it nevertheless, even today, is a factor which helps us to understand the behavior of immigrant Haoles.

The Changing Class Structure

We may now proceed to our second point, namely the problem faced by the newly-arrived Haole when he seeks to fit into the evolving local class structure.

This class structure has been described up to recently as a two-class system. One might, I suppose, trace this system back to a feudal system of ancient Hawaii, which was undermined by the abolition of the Kapu System in 1819 and of feudal land ownership by the Great Mahele in the middle of the last century. The missionaries and traders who came to Hawaii became in many respects merged with the alii or aristocracy. They soon participated at cabinet rank in the affairs of government and a number married into the Hawaiian chiefly class.

The new sugar industry received its first boost from the abolition of feudalism and the adoption of private landownership in the middle of the last century and its second one a quarter of a century later by virtue of the Reciprocity Treaty. The direct consequence of these developments was the need to replace the depleted Hawaiian population by a flow of imported plantation labor. This in turn created various problems of social control. As so frequently happens when several ethnic groups meet in a common territory, political controls were the first to appear. Plantations, Lind, Adams, Edgar Thompson, and other sociologists have pointed out, assume some of the characteristics of miniature states. The management of Hawaii's plantations have been almost exclusively in the hands of Haoles. Immigrants of various ethnic derivation formed the working class, an indentured labor class (i.e. they were under penal contracts). There was no middle class.

What happens to Haole groups and individuals who enter this society, where, for long, the top class was largely Haole and the bottom class largely non-Haole?

In the answer to this question may lie the key to the understanding of much otherwise inexplicable Haole behavior.

The Haole groups such as the Germans and the Portuguese, who entered the social structure as workers at the bottom assumed and for a long time retained lower class status. They were derived from the lower class of two-class societies in Europe having relatively slight opportunities for upward mobility. They came with no expectations of a rapid rise. They did have other expectations, of independence, of landownership, etc., which were not always realized, but few of the worker Caucasians at the time they came, had aspirations towards the upper controlling class. They were at first not regarded as Haoles.

Because of their relatively small numbers and the part played by the First World War in Hawaii, the Germans have all but disappeared. Some, particularly those who intermarried with persons of other races, are still lower class. A few, by marriage into the upper-class Haole groups, have achieved upper-class status. Most are now disappearing in the emerging urban middle class. The Portuguese are somewhat more slowly following a similar evolution.

Haoles coming directly from the Mainland have left a predominantly middle-class society[17] to enter a society in various stages of transition from two to three classes. Where have they fit in?

Three possibilities are open to them if they are middle-class people, as probably most of them are. They enter the upper class; they join the lower class; or they stay in their middle class in a society in which the middle class is only in process of formation.

Up until a generation ago, the tendency had been for almost all Mainlanders to enter the upper class. In many cases they came to occupy higher positions in key firms. In these they were inevitably thrown first into business relations, then into social contact with members of the upper class. They tended to identify themselves with this class, and to the extent that they had middle-class origins, they were self-conscious in their new class positions. Their attitude towards people of the lower class or toward Orientals entering the new middle class lacked the natural assumption of superiority by local Haoles as well as the correlative "aristocratic graciousness" of some of the established local Haole families. As has been frequently noted, many of these established families were paternalistic. Their attitude has been to take a personal interest in the educational progress of exceptional students from the working class. Their biases are class more clearly than race biases. A prominent woman of this class remarked to the writer some years ago, "You know, we have always accepted

17 Subjectively, most Americans seem to conceive of themselves as of the middle social class. In a Gallup Poll a few years ago, 6 per cent of the sample classified themselves as upper class, 6 as lower, and 88 per cent as middle class. However, 52 per cent admitted belonging to the lower middle and lower economic class. (See William A. Lydgate, What Our People Think (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1944), p. 159. Warner and his group, by their research techniques, classified 39 per cent of the people of "Yankee City" as middle class. Counting only the old Yankee part of the population, 51 per cent were found to be middle class. (See W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 71.

educated Orientals as equals. Orientals outstanding in the arts, in government, in the professions, when passing through Hawaii, have been entertained in our homes." The practice of welcoming such prominent Orientals in their homes still characterizes upper-class Haole families today.

The middle-class Haole from the Mainland who enters upperclass society in Hawaii feels somewhat out of place. He tends to take on some of the characteristics of upwardly mobile people, of the keepers-up-with-the Joneses: aggressiveness, snobbishness, self-advertising, conspicuous consumption. This sort of behavior of course also characterizes local Haoles working their way up from a lower to a higher class position (and incidently also local non-Haoles moving upward in the social scale). Among such people strong prejudices, often in the form of race prejudices, make their appearance.

It is important to see these prejudices as products of the dynamics of the local situation rather than as importations from the Mainland.

Very few Mainland Haoles who have come into the Territory in the last thirty years have been lower-class Haoles, and few middle-class Haoles have moved downward. The working-class Haoles who came in as defense workers during World War II were, in general, sojourners and are rapidly returning to the Mainland, as can be seen by the fact that the civilian Haole population of the Islands has declined by over 23,000 in the course of the year and a half from July 1, 1948 to January 1, 1950, that is, from the all-time high of 180,480 on the former date to 157,115 at the latter.

Some Haole arrivals have, however, identified themselves with the working class. This is apparent from the fact that several of the important leaders of the local labor movement are Mainland Haoles. That several married women of other than Haole ancestry is a further confirmation of their non-identification with the upper-class Haoles. Those Haoles who became identified with the local working class were men of a decided trade union orientation. In a few cases, no doubt, sensitive persons of Mainland middle-class background have become identified with the lower class here because they were offended by examples of discrimination against non-Haoles.

The major internal change in the social structure of Hawaii is the development of a middle class, whose growing importance promises to make Hawaii in social structure more and more like the Mainland.

The middle class of Hawaii is to this day still a phenomenon of the city. It is in Honolulu where the middle class had its birth and where it is of greatest influence. This fact gains significance when it is recalled that just over 50 per cent of the population of Hawaii resides in its metropolis. On the plantations the two-class society on the whole may still be said to prevail.

The faint beginnings of Honolulu's middle class can no doubt be traced back into the middle of the last century. In general, however, persons usually associated with the middle class, such as persons in the professions, in Honolulu have had upper-class status, provided they were Haoles. Their numbers were not large enough to form a class distinct from the ruling aristocracy.

However, in the 1920's the middle class assumed more definite form. It was a Haole middle class, consisting in general of relative newcomers to the Islands: small business men; men in the professions, which were gaining in numerical importance; a few skilled laborers; and in the 1930's federal government officials and a growing number of Army and Navy officers and their families. A symbolic milestone indicative of the visible emergence of a middle class was the establishment of the "standard English" schools within the public school system. Of these the first one was Marion M. Scott School, later Lincoln School, established in Honolulu in 1924. These schools, in order to enter which all children had to pass a test in the spoken language, were the result of a demand for public schools by Haole parents who could not afford private schools for their children, and who were afraid that their children would not be able to maintain Mainland standards of spoken English if they associated with the children of the public schools, the majority of whom spoke the local dialect, being children of immigrants from Asia and Europe.

The social distance between this incipient middle class and the lower class was increased by the obvious racial cleavages, and marked racial prejudice was no doubt frequently found in this middle class.

Before not too many years, however, the middle class began to receive more recruits from the local population than from the Mainland.

In the late 1930's and during the 1940's the successful entry of many Orientals into the middle class can be easily documented. Among various symbols of this process are the following two:

1. Many Orientals bought real estate and took up residence in areas in the past exclusively occupied by Haoles, areas such as Manoa, Pacific Heights, and Dowsett Tract.

2. The enrollment in the standard schools, which up to America's entry into World War II had been in the majority Haole, during the war period became increasingly local. Thus, from a high, when the schools were first founded, of 77 per cent Caucasian children, the proportion dropped to 56 per cent in 1940 and a little under 29 per cent in 1947.[18] At the present time, the Department of Public Instruction no longer releases racial figures.

This rise of a middle class composed of both Mainland Haole and local non-Haole elements raises intriguing questions about the direction which race relations will take in the future. It is the writer's feeling, based on recent observations, that within this middle class, race conflict will steadily decline. The feeling of identification with a middle class whose dominance will become increasingly apparent will prove stronger than ethnic identity. On the part of the local population, a sense of differentiation from the lower class was manifested in 1948 and 1949 when legislation was placed calling for the gradual return to a single standard school system. Interestingly enough, great concern was shown by some local non-Haole parents whose children were attending the English standard schools, that their association with the children of the pre-standard schools would injure them. There was the suggestion of a fear of contamination by lower-class children, even though these might belong to the same ethnic group. On the

18 Legislative Reference Bureau, "Hawaii's English Standard Schools," Report No. 3, Honolulu: Legislative Preference, University of Hawaii, Norman Meller, director, 1948, p. 7.

part of the Mainland derived middle-class neighborhoods one now frequently sees groups of children playing who are ethnically varied. Adults recently from the Mainland are able quickly to establish friendships with local people. In P.T.A. and similar community organizations effective committee work involves cooperation between persons from several races.

The maturation of the middle class in Honolulu and its increasing influence over the whole society means that the colonial or frontier or plantation era in Hawaii is about to pass into history. Hawaii's admission to the union as a forty-ninth or fiftieth state will be the symbol that Hawaii's social structure has attained the characteristics of American society. It will augur the disappearance of minorities, Oriental, Hawaiian, and Haole.

THE OKINAWAN-NAICHI RELATIONSHIP

HENRY TOYAMA and KIYOSHI IKEDA

Little if any thing is known about Okinawan-Naichi relationship in Hawaii by those who are outside of the Japanese group. Although many have touched on this subject, the comments have been incidental. This article is an exploratory study into the in-group out-group relationship existing between the Naichi and the Okinawan groups in Hawaii. It is based on student papers in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory.

Much has been written of the Japanese from the main islands of Japan --- Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido. They are usually referred to collectively as Naichi (insiders) or Yamato no hito (men of Yamato). Little need be said here of them.

The "Okinawans" in Hawaii come from the islands of Okinawa (Okinawa Gunto) which is part of the Ryukyu Archipelago (Nansei Shoto) stretching in a south-westerly direction from the southern tip of the Japanese mainland to the island of Formosa, which forms the anchor to this chain. The distance between the southern tip of the Japanese mainland to the island of Formosa is approximately seven hundred miles. The islands of Okinawa are approximately 275 miles from the southern tip of the Japanese mainland. The Okinawa Gunto is composed of a major island, Okinawa, and several smaller islands surrounding it. Perhaps the best known of these lesser islands is Ie Shima, where Ernie Pyle, the "GI's war correspondent" was killed and temporarily buried.

The majority of the Okinawans in Hawaii came from the southern tip of the main island, principally from Naha, the seat of the provincial government, and the surrounding districts of Oroku, Tomigusuku, Kanagusuku, Itoman, Takamine, Gushichan, Kuchinda, Tamagusuku, Chinen, Haebaru, Nishihara, and Shuri. However, almost all the districts of Okinawa have representatives in Hawaii. (Historically, Okinawa long enjoyed an independent status. Culturally, the Okinawans are closer to the Chinese than are the Naichi.) Most of Okinawa's early commercial and cultural intercourse was carried on with China. At some date, still unsettled by historians, the Okinawans began to pay dual allegiance to China and to the feudal domain of the Satsuma clan on the island of Kyushu, the southernmost of the main islands of Japan. There are some indications that contrary to the policy of Japan proper of keeping Western nations out, Okinawa maintained limited commercial relations with Western countries. The relations between Okinawa and China and Japan, were thus: 1.) primarily of trade with China; 2.) primarily for protection from other would-be invaders and conquerors with Satsuma. These conditions held true until approximately seventy years ago, at which time Japan began to establish its program of National Unity and incorporated the Okinawa Islands into the Empire.

The relationship between the Okinawans and the Naichi in Hawaii is somewhat like that between the Irish and the English: one group feeling superior to the other, and the other having a defensive pride. The situation is also comparable to the Jewish-Gentile relationship in that there are very seldom manifest dangerous, overt feelings, the attitudes being mainly covert. When an Okinawan is first asked about the relationship, he will say

that there is nothing of consequence in it. However, as the personal relationship becomes closer between the two persons a "story" is unraveled in which at one time or another, the person was or is still emotionally involved in this "problem." On the other hand, among children the mutual attitudes are more openly expressed in the form of "scraps." But feelings between the two groups usually remain at the covert level and are not made public, and one finds Okinawans and Naichis doing many things in common, until it begins to appear that intermarriage between individuals of the two groups is imminent. At that time, attitudes very often become expressed in overt actions of rejection and resentment on both sides.

The Okinawan-Naichi relationship in Hawaii has been clearly "defined" by the two groups involved. In Japan there seems to be little if any clear "definition of the situation". Nevertheless, student papers seem to bring out the feeling that the prejudice against Okinawans was brought over from Japan:

> Okinawan student: Discrimination of the Okinawan people is actually an old prejudice which the first generation Naichi brought with them from the Mainland of Japan.
>
> Naichi student: . . . Japan was first made up of the mainland only, but later included the island of Okinawa. Here was found an aboriginal type of people entirely different from the Japanese. They were made subjects of Japan and were given equal status to the Japanese.
>
> The Japanese population never welcomed the Okinawans wholeheartedly. They regarded them as inferior since they were not pure Japanese and believed them to be uncivilized due to their queer and vulgar culture. They refused to take the Okinawans as equal to them and this attitude was passed from generation to generation and so it even reached the Hawaiian Islands.

Contrast these statements with:

> Okinawan student who had been in the American Army of occupation in Japan: When I introduced myself as_____(A typical Okinawan name) to a group of Japanese (in Japan), there seemed to be no reaction of the sort one would expect of a Naichi in Hawaii. In Hawaii, if I mentioned my name to a group of friends (Naichi) they would without exception know that I was an Okinawan. However, they would not say anything about it.
>
> One of the important differences between these two reactions seems to be the relatively few Okinawans in Japan. However, when I came across several Japanese who had either lived on Okinawa or served in the Japanese Army on the island and I mentioned my name, they would say, "You are an Okinawan, aren't you?" I would say, "Yes." But perhaps because I was an American G. I. they usually hesitated in commenting on my being such (Okinawan).
>
> Naichi student: My mother told me when I asked her about whether she knew about Okinawans before coming to Hawaii, "In Japan I did not see any Okinawans and did not know about them as when I came to Hawaii. All that I learned about Okinawa was from books.
>
> "On the boat we met some (Okinawan women) who wore their obi just tied loosely and not like us. You know, the women are dark. Well, they put on oshiroi (face powder) and they really looked funny. When they were asked to come up to the deck for inspection and to give their names, they came in clothes fit only for housework. The man (inspector) told the women to get their brooms. We had a laugh over that."
>
> My mother seems to have picked up a few notions about Okinawans which have some credence among the Naichi. "You know, Okinawans seem to be more yaban (primitive) than the Japanese. Look at their facial features. They look like Malayans of Filipinos. Some of their dances with all the waving around seem very primitive and look like the Filipino kind. Even their dress seems bright. Some Okinawans are very fair and look like Haole. These people are said to come from the province of Itoman. Seven Spanish sailors were said to have been ship-wrecked there and in time their blood became a part of all the people there."

Other students who have gone to Japan and have come back have commented on the relative lack of prejudice towards Okinawans in Japan itself. Perhaps this lack of prejudice in Japan towards Okinawans can be traced to these factors: 1.) The relatively few Okinawans in Japan proper (in the urban centers) compared to the greater number of Okinawans in Hawaii; 2.) The Okinawan visitors from Hawaii and the Okinawans in the Japanese urban centers were primarily there to study or travel and usually enjoyed better social status. They had enough Japanese "traits" to pass as Naichi or to be accepted on an equal plane. By the same token, the prejudice and discrimination in inter-group relationships is intensified in Hawaii because: 1.) The greater number of Okinawans in relation to the rest of the Japanese population (of the 180,000 odd Japanese in Hawaii, 10 or 15 per cent probably are Okinawans or of Okinawan parentage; 2.) The closer contacts in Hawaii, making for cultural prejudgments of each other's behavior especially evident in the "gossip across the backyard fence" among those of their own group about individuals of the other group; 3.) The Naichi and the Okinawans who came to Hawaii are predominantly in the economically lower class in the old country, and therefore many of their ways are regarded "crude" and "uncouth". The Naichi have a culture of which they are proud, while the Okinawans, on the other hand, have until recently suffered from a sense of inferiority owing to their "peculiar" cultural practices and institutions. The Okinawans in Hawaii have had the double problem of adjusting to Naichi culture as well as to American culture, with all of the maladjustments and disorganization attendant upon this transition.

Thus, although there seems to be little if any antipathy toward Okinawans in Japan, Okinawans have frequently expressed resentment toward Japan and these feelings may have been transferred to Hawaii. Some Okinawan students recall their parents telling them stories about Naichi "carpetbaggers" who "made their pile" in Okinawa off the residents. Enforced use of the Japanese language and culture by the Okinawans seemed to have aroused resentment among the Okinawans against things Naichi and encouraged a pride in the Okinawan culture. This may have occurred in some areas and not in others for some students bring out the fact that their parents did not have any grudges against the Naichi in Okinawa.

In Hawaii the situation can be somewhat more clearly and precisely defined, as the accounts by both Naichi and Okinawan students reveal. The student reports reflect the reciprocal stereotypes in the two groups with regard to each other.

Okinawan student: The Okinawan is categorized as "loud, rough, and his speech guttural." During my childhood, I remember hearing Naichi children teasing Okinawans with a rhyme, "Okinawa ken ken, buta kau kau," implying that the latter ate pig slop. The Okinawans retorted, "Naichi, Naichi, chi ga nai (The Naichi has no blood, a pun involving two meanings of the word Naichi.)" Among the young Okinawans, such phrases as "The Naichi think they're better than us," and "They take us cheap," were common.

Okinawan student: During my younger years when I was in grammar school, the Naichi children used to poke fun at the Okinawan children. Whenever there was any disagreement between the Naichi and the Okinawan children, the Naichi children usually came up with this jeering phrase, "Okinawa ken ken, buta kau kau (Okinawans eat pigs)." The "kau kau" is adopted from the Hawaiian meaning "eat". Obviously the phrase had a "degrading" meaning I did not catch. Nevertheless, we felt "ashamed" when the phrase was hurled at us.

Okinawan student: One day, when I was in the eighth grade, I was very embarrassed by one of my bosom friends (Naichi). He had somehow heard that I was an Okinawan and when I said I was, he could hardly believe it. I still recall that incident very dearly.

"Hey Satoru, somebody say you Okinawan, 'as right?"

"Who said so?"

"We--ll, somebody, 'As right or what?"

"Yeah."

"Gee, gees Christ, you no stay lie, huh?"

"No."

"But you no look Okinawan, yet."

"No can help, huh."

"Ahh, 'as all right. You good guy anyway."

This indicated that the Naichi children knew the difference between themselves and us, whatever the difference may be. I do not know whether the parents led the Naichi children to believe such a "false ideas."

The boy had told his friend, "You no look Okinawan." What is the "Okinawan look?" Many Naichis say that they can spot an Okinawan by his "hairiness, curly or wavy hair, big round eyes, short stature and dark complexion in comparison with the Naichi. The Naichi are less hairy, fair, and have slant eyes." Here the "definition" or preconception is in terms of physical traits.

But these definitions for both groups are quite unreliable in that individuals in each group are from time to time mistaken about the other.

Okinawan student: I am an Okinawan. But the peculiar thing is that I am commonly mistaken for a Naichi. My Naichi friends accepted me

and included me in their games and parties. While they teased and cajoled the other Okinawan children, I would stand by helpless and bewildered. I couldn't understand why my Okinawan friends would be stoned, called names like "stink Okinawa," "pigs," and so forth and be excluded from the kid parties. Nobody ever called me names or did physical harm because my parents came from Okinawa.

Then one day, I asked Fu-chan, my Naichi friend, why I wasn't treated like an Okinawan. "Oh, you don't look like Okinawa, you don't sound like Okinawa," was the answer. This puzzled me more. Did the Okinawans have a definite physical stamp on their faces? If they did, why didn't I have it, too? Why did many people think our family was a Naichi family?

Doris is a close friend of mine. She detests Okinawans. All through high school I tried to convince her that I actually was an Okinawan. But each time she would shrug her shoulders and remark, "Don't kid me . . . . I know you're not one of those -----. You don't look like them anyhow." To this day she does not believe I am an Okinawan.

Naichi student: Right in my home, I have an older sister who is very fair, not hairy, slant-eyed, and her appearance as a whole leads anyone to think that she is a Naichi. On the other hand, my younger sister is dark, more hairy, has big round eyes and her general appearance is that of a typical Okinawan. My best friend at the University looks like an Okinawan, and it was some time before I found out that she was really Naichi.

Naichi student: I have come across people who are often mistaken for Okinawans. They are thought to be Okinawans because they have some physical likeness to them. The Naichi jins who are thus considered do not like it and feel that they have been insulted.

Naichi student: When I was still in grammar school, we used to say bad things about the Okinawans without realizing what we were saying. I used to tease a girl whom I did not like that she was an Okinawan when I knew very well that she was a Naichi person. I offended her very much. We also hate to be mistaken by other racial groups as being Okinawan. I was offended when a Haole asked me if I were Okinawan.

It is commonly thought that the family name provides positive proof of Okinawan origin. As might be expected, however, under conditions such as these, some Okinawans change their names to conform with those of the Naichi. Moreover, some of the same names are found in both groups, thus frequently creating situations of embarrassment and "shame" to the participants.

Naichi student: A friend of mine fumed with anger one evening when he read in the paper about an Okinawan family changing their last name to a Naichi name that corresponded with his. I also know of a person whose last name is _____ and he is quite furious since there are Okinawans who have the same surname.

Over and above the conception of Naichi and Okinawan in terms of physical traits, "perceptible" culture differences in language, manners and certain other traits help to perpetuate the sense of difference and the consequent discriminatory treatment.

Student papers bring out the fact that there is an Okinawan "accent" which Naichi people judge as "uncultured" and even "obnoxious" to the ears.

Naichi student: The first generation Okinawan's usage of the standard Japanese is very strange to the Naichi. The Okinawan people always seem to put their accent on the wrong syllables. One of the most evident pronunciations I have noticed was the way the Okinawan people said "okazu" (the dishes that go with the staple food of rice.) The Naichi say okazu with the accent on the last syllable, but the Okinawans say the word by prolonging the last syllable.

Listed below are a few examples of the difference in language between the Naichi and the Okinawan:[1]

Naichi	Okinawan	English
buta	uwa	pig
ko	kwa	child
inu	ing	dog
okane (zeni)	jing	money
atsui	achisanu	hot
samui (hiyai)	hisa	cold
nagai	nagasanu	long

The difficulty of communicating between the two groups leads to the judgment that the minority group which deviates from the norms of the dominant group are "coarse and uncultured in their language." A Naichi student paper reveals this very well:

I remember once when my sister came home from an Okinawan party, she remarked, "You know, until tonight I never knew the Okinawans were really different from us. But they are. The toastmaster gave a speech in Okinawan and it seemed so queer. Then he had entertainment ---- such wild dancing. I never saw such things in all my life." Here she was referring to their culture and my sister learned for the first time that there existed a distinct culture different from that of the Naichis.

An Okinawan student also says:

When an Okinawan parent encountered a Naichi, I noticed that except for the educated and those who had in some way become well-acquainted with Naichi culture, he conversed in poor Japanese and lacked knowledge of Naichi etiquette. Because their parents speak "unrefined" Japanese, the children of these Okinawans are limited in speaking the language, and generally find it difficult to converse with people of the older Naichi group. One young Okinawan girl related the following incident to show up this language difficulty. She had bought some groceries from the clerk of a Naichi-owned store. The bill was totaled and she found that she had short-changed the clerk a nickel. The next day, she went to return it, but she found the clerk's wife who spoke only Japanese. The Okinawan girl began to explain by saying, "Kino (yesterday) . . . ." followed by, "ah, ah . . . ." She could explain no further in Japanese and before an amused group of Caucasians, she finally said in English, half-apologetically and half-exasperatedly, "I owe you five cents."

1 **Editor's note: The word lists above are just one student's conception of difference in language between the two groups and we would like to make it clear that we do not hold the translations as necessarily accurate.**

Okinawan speech also is described by the Naichi as "loud, rough, and coarse," with more emphasis on freer self-expression as contrasted with the more restrained, "refined" and "cultured" ways of the Naichi. Some possible explanations might be 1) that the freer self-expression is cultural in the sense of being "native" to the Okinawan or a consequence of a more rapid assimilation into American culture, or a product of both factors, or just a class difference in the Okinawan group comparable to the traditional behavior of lower-class Japanese which allows freer self-expression, 2) or that this is a sign of social disorganization in the sense of the breakdown of institutional controls although this does not seem likely in view of the signs of effective organization of the Okinawan community, with which this paper does not deal, 3) or that there are significant differences in child-rearing, celebrations, and festivals which might express these differences. (Some students observe that Okinawan parties are more boistrous with the liquor flowing more freely.)

However that may be, the noticeable contrast in "manners" frequently found between the Okinawan and the Naichi make for categorical judgments on both sides:

Naichi student: I asked my sister why mother did not like Mary (girl friend) who is an Okinawan. She answered, "Well Okinawans are heta (a Japanese word meaning "none too smart"). They don't know how to speak "properly" to the old folks. They don't know how to show respect to the old folks. They can't sit for long on the floor like us (sic). They don't seem to understand the Japanese ways of doing things. They oftentimes laugh at the wrong places. Like Mary, she shouldn't get angry when mother gives her a "lecture" or else asks something of her. She shouldn't feel hurt when mother seems to show no feeling because basically she likes Mary."

When I posed this problem to Mary, she answered, "When I went home with you, I went with the idea that I would be received as a Japanese girl, but I found out different. I was taken in as an Okinawan. I couldn't speak Japanese the way your mother expects me to. I couldn't show her all the graces that a Japanese girl raised up in the Naichi culture knows. But I don't see why she picks on my faults so much because your sisters act no better than I do. She must be expecting more of me because I am an Okinawan and she wants to shame me and make me admit that I am not good enough for a Naichi.

"But why should I admit that! I'm no better nor worse than the Naichi. Your mother shouldn't mind "what other people" will think. In my family we have no such restrictions as your family has, or shall I say your mother imposes. Sometimes I feel so hemmed in when your family is around because I can't do anything without thinking, "Now if I do this, will I cast reflection on the Okinawans?" although I don't see why one's group prestige should be so important as that."

This may be an atypical situation, but initially this is what happens until a more primary and sympathetic relationship between an Okinawan and Naichi develops and both come to the realization that after all there are things which they have in common simply because they are human beings as well as being Naichi and Okinawan.

Some of the other cultural practices of the Okinawans which make for prejudicial and categorical behavior on the part of the Naichis are: 1) Tattooing, 2) Hog-raising, 3) Restaurant and related business practices.

"One of the most interesting customs of the old Okinawan people was their custom of tattooing a woman's hand as soon as matrimony was expected or entered into. Blue blocks of about one square inch in size were tattooed on the woman's hands and arms. If the woman belonged to a very high class, she had a lot of blue tattooing on her hands and arms, but if the woman belonged to a very low class, she had very little tattooing on her hands."

How do the Naichi look at the tattooing of the Okinawan women? Some students say, "The Okinawans are aboriginal or primitive in tattooing their hands like other primitives to the South.":

As far back as I can remember, I have heard that the Okinawans are an inferior group. Many queer things were made up about them, especially when we were children. Children are an imaginative group but perhaps their imaginations only carry out the thoughts and doings of older people. I recall very clearly how we used to blacken the backs of our fingers with the ends of burnt sticks that we "borrowed" from mother's old-fashioned stove. Little did we know then that their hands were tattooed as a symbol of marriage. We had the queer notion that those women were born with such marks to distinguish them from others. Much fuss was made by those whose turn it was to be Okinawan for one day, for that meant being ordered by the others.

How does an Okinawan feel about this mother having tatoo marks?

Some Naichi people just stare at the Okinawan women when they meet them on the street or in the bus. Therefore, there are quite a few Okinawan children who hesitate to go along with their mothers. My mother has tattoo marks on her hands, too, of which I am not ashamed. Those tattoo marks are a means of beauty to her and her friends.

The Naichi women had their teeth painted black before. That was a custom which once made them conspicuous.

Hog-raising was practiced in Okinawa and it provided a means of occupational adjustment here for a considerable number of Okinawan immigrants who established their pig barn near plantation camps. As a result, Naichi children have coined epithets. The most famous of the jibes about "pig heads," "butas," and what have you, is "Okinawa ken ken, buta kau kau," which was mentioned in an earlier context.

The Naichi children learned this phrase and oftentimes sang it in sing-song fashion as the Okinawan man or his son collected the "buta kau kau" or "pigslop" from the houses. The Naichi child regarded pig-raising as lowly work fit for only Okinawans who were dirty and smelly as they passed by hauling the slop for the pigs. Perhaps the disparagement of Okinawans for pig-raising may be traced to the fact that in Japan, the Eta do the raising and especially the killing of animals.

Restaurant and related business in Hawaii seem to have a majority of Okinawans connected with them. In this relationship, competition between members of the two groups make for ambivalent feelings on the part of the Naichi of respect and envy and resentment against the Okinawans for being "smart in business." The idea of "let them take an inch and they'll take a mile" prevails in many Naichi circles. The Okinawans feel this too as evidenced by this Okinawan student's commnet:

There is a general attitude among the Naichi that the Okinawan is somewhat like a Jew in being shrewd in business. They think of the Okinawans as a people who are willing to take any kind of a job. As an example, I have heard that the Naichi considered working in a restaurant or an "eating business" as a job that would place them in a servant's status, so that the Okinawan usually took the jobs and learned the trade or business from the inside. As a consequence, among the Japanese restaurant owners today, one will see the majority will be Okinawans.

A Naichi student provides some corroborative evidence:

Okinawan people smart in business, boy. They shinbo (pinch their pennies) and seiko suru (attain success). There was an Okinawan lady who lived next to us. She was rich. Instead of giving the slop to the pig man, she raised ducks and gave the slop to them. That stink up the whole neighborhood.

A Naichi food caterer told me that she would not admit even one Okinawan into her group because once she did that, the Okinawan lady would learn fast and bring in other Okinawans, and drive her out of the job.

When talking to a Naichi lady, I found out a few things about how Okinawans did things in the restaurant business. "The Okinawans have driven the Naichi out of the restaurant business because they have all the food from the Okinawan farmers." A Naichi friend said, "Naichi people no more group feeling like Okinawans. Naichi only care for themselves." Yeah, Okinawans smart boy.

One naturally wonders what the effect of these stereotypes may be upon both Okinawans and Naichi -- the extent of emotional involvement among both groups and the consequent relations between the two groups.

When first asked as to his attitudes, a Naichi states that he has no prejudice against Okinawans and that everybody ought to be treated equal in Hawaii. The Okinawans, on the other hand, will state that the situation doesn't bother him or that it isn't too bad nowadays, but as one goes deeper into the private attitudes of an Okinawan, then personal experiences involving prejudicial treatment are brought out. One of the first things mentioned is the marked feelings of inferiority and "shame". These attitudes seem to be learned very early in an Okinawan's experience as shown by these excerpts:

Okinawan student: As a child, I always felt the ways of the Naichi superior. Our whole pattern of manners and speech was from them. My parents conversed with each other in their native dialect but sent their children to Japanese school to learn the Naichi language. In language school, the teacher and important school officials were Naichi and children of Naichi parentage excelled in speech. The Naichi homes I visited were more orderly and showed a higher standard of living than ours . . . I considered what the Naichi ate tastier than what we had.

I early became aware that Okinawans were considered on a lower scale (socially) than the Naichi and felt Okinawan ways inferior and crude. This feeling went so far as to include Okinawan music. When mother played native records on the phonograph, the rest of the family

polaries. Ostensibly I was just as Japanese as my Naichi friends. I went to Japanese school, where incidentally I made consistently superior marks, ate rice, spoke Japanese-Pidgin English, patois, to my parents and elders, saw samurai pictures, observed Japanese holidays, etc. However, I realized that I was different -- not so great as to make one alien, but enough to cause concern.

Okinawan student: The peculiar thing is that when I was young I felt that we were not equal to the Naichi. I thought that we were not "real" Japanese. I attended Japanese language school and I was particularly conscious that in all my Japanese language books I never came across any important person with an Okinawan name. The names of the characters in the Japanese books were similar to those of some of my playmates and they made much of the likeness, saying that they were "real" Japanese, which made me feel excluded from my own play group.

Okinawan student: The Naichi group has a sort of superiority complex. The Naichi look upon the Okinawan as an inferior and lowly individual. For instance, a Kibei (Japanese educated Nisei) was talking to me about the success of a young Okinawan businessman who was his friend. What impressed me most in the conversation was the following: "The young man is an Okinawan but he sure is a hustler."

Naichi student: In elementary school, the Okinawans were sensitive to the fact that they were Okinawans. They would feel ashamed and embarrassed. One day in elementary school, a group of girls got together and somehow, someone introduced a subject related to the Okinawans. I wasn't familiar with the term so naturally I inquired, "What is Okinawan?" Most of the girls suddenly turned to me with surprised expressions on their faces. "Don't you know? They're the lowest class of Japanese," one of the girls replied. During this little "shock" I observed that one of the girls was extremely quiet. She seemed as though she wanted to avoid everyone and fixed her attention on some other subject. Later I learned that she was an Okinawan. I remembered this incident vividly because from that day on I became conscious of the relationship between the Okinawan and the Naichi.

The degree to which a person can become emotionally involved in this problem is indicated in this account by an Okinawan.

You know, young time; I was "shame" about being an Okinawan. I remember in grammar school, there was a Naichi teacher who did not

One day, I met a girl. Thinking that she was a Japan-born girl, I told her my true name, a typical Okinawan name, instead of the Naichi-sounding one. I gave her the same story about my being Hawaiian-Japanese. She invited me to her home, so I went. When introduced to the father, I gave him my name.

He said, "You're an Okinawan, eh?"

I was lost. But he explained that he knew about the Okinawans and Naichis in Hawaii because he had lived there before the war, and had relatives married to Okinawans in Hawaii. After that, I did not feel "shame", either at that home or in Japan, or when I came back to Hawaii.

Nowadays, I no feel "shame" when I go into a Naichi house and I can tell the old folks what I feel like and have fun.

When someone told two Okinawan boys a story in which a Naichi said something "stink" about Okinawans, he asked them how they would react. Both of them said "We sure wouldn't like the idea of having someone talk "stink" about us. I for one, would give the guy a licking.

The following statement by an Okinawan student reveals a sense of resentment for their prejudicial attitudes and behavior.

The ones (forms of discrimination) which hurt the Okinawan the most are social and psychological in nature. As an instance of social discrimination, to be classified lower than an "Eta" adds insult to injury. Added to this is the fact of taking good-naturedly abuses and razzings which are unbecoming of a human being and morally uncalled for. No one wants to be referred to as "hairy, buta, big rope" and the like. But the worst treatment anyone can receive is the "silent technique."

On dates it is customary to call at the home of the girl to meet the parents. Upon introduction, your ancestral origin is bound to come up or to be noticed. The following calls are made in a most cold and unpleasant environment. The "not wanted" sign is hoisted. It seems that equality of privilege or what have you, is not to be assumed if you're unlucky enough to be born an Okinawan. It may be that the old folks and the younger generation have no common ground to meet on but at least they could emit a miserly smile. There are many things

that sicken the heart. Prejudice without knowledge is displayed by the Naichi towards the Okinawan in varying degrees.

The relatively larger number of papers written by Okinawan students about this "problem" may be an indication of their being much more emotionally involved than the Naichi students. Excerpts taken from the few Naichi student papers tend to show the more or less "unconscious" acceptance of this prejudice as a part of a typical Naichi's attitudes in Hawaii:

Naichi student: We ourselves avoid relations with Okinawan boys and girls, especially going steady with one of them. If there is a rumor that a friend of ours is going out with an Okinawan boy or girl, we tend to disapprove of it for reasons unknown. We laugh at the way they talk, sing, and dance, saying that they are queer and funny. Actually their ways are no more queer and funny than many dialects, songs, and dances of other parts of Japan. We do not stop to think how funny our parents' culture might seem to other people.

The assumption that the Naichis are the superior group is shown in this student's viewpoints:

The present generation of Okinawans are much more educated than their elders. They realize that their job is to win the friendship and admiration of the Naichis. This is not an easy task, for the tendency to dislike all Okinawans is deeply rooted in the minds of the Naichis. The children "inherit" this dislike for Okinawans from their parents and I'm sure that most of the children do not have any idea why they should hate these people. Yet, when you mention an Okinawan name they would immediately whisper, "He is an Okinawan."

A good example of a more "traumatic" form of learning the "definition" is shown in this Naichi student's excerpt:

I first realized this feeling (of cool cordiality and suspicious restraint) towards them (Okinawans) when I was eight years old. Lonely, in our isolated town, I early struck an acquaintance with our neighbor's little girl. We played together and walked to school and back together. My mother said nothing but she resented the intimacy between Clara and me -- a resentment which I did not understand.

An incident provided the excuse (for showing her resentment). Walking home from school one day, we had reached the bend in the road from where I could see my home, when Clara suddenly stopped and began whispering something to her companion. On my inquiring what they were talking about, I was laughingly pushed down into a patch of thorny weeds on the roadside. I took this trivial incident as a joke (for I could believe nothing malicious of my friends) but then I saw my mother waiting at the foot of the hill. She had apparently seen what had just transpired and had been roused by it. When I finally reached our gate, mother was already in hot pursuit of the frightened girls. Angrily gesticulating and shouting, she presented a spectacle that I had never seen nor expected of her. I was overwhelmed by her serious reception of what I took to be an act of thoughtlessness. A few minutes later, I found myself tearfully and soberly listening to a tirade against all Okinawans in general, delivered by my usually calm and taciturn mother. All the resentment that she had harbored against them for so long was strongly expressed. "They are an alien people. Their practices are unclean. Do you want to associate with people who

wash their children's diapers and bathe their babies in the kitchen sink?" I knew this to be true of our neighbors and I knew not how to answer her. "They raise pigs and chickens and unsanitarily fertilize their vegetables with the waste, thus fouling the whole neighborhood. They seldom bathe. They are like animals. I forbid you to associate with them in the future."

New Definitions Emerging

The stereotyped definitions of Okinawan and Naichi -- of inferiority and superiority -- and the consequent social distances between the two groups are still very much in evidence as indicated by the student papers. But there are also indications of new attitudes and definitions emerging. In the transitional period, one finds a continuum of groups and individuals from those who "stick to their kind", to those who associate freely with members of the other groups. Some Okinawans identify themselves as Okinawans first, while others tend to identify themselves as Japanese first and Okinawans second.

Ambivalent attitudes within individuals of both groups quite naturally tend to develop under these conditions.

Okinawan student: But I believe there must be covert conflict within an individual whether to marry his kind or out-marry, because I feel this conflict within me. Really I see no wrong in marrying out and sometimes I see nice persons in the other group and meditate and say perhaps they are all right. But on the other hand, if and when my emotions get the better of me, I cannot help but feel uneasy, gloomy, lonely, and even tense at the thought of marrying a Naichi. In the final analysis, I figure that I cannot marry one outside my own ethnic group the way I feel. It always comes back to me that my parents used to tell me time and again, "if possible, marry an Okinawan, they understand us better, Both families will be happier and have stronger and friendlier ties. It would be better in the long run."

Naichi student: Deep within me is an immutable conviction that I will never take a step toward intermarriage with an Okinawan. The fear of being rejected is too strong a pressure on me. It is a shame and wrong that I was exposed to such an unreasonable prejudice, but it is even more painful to have to confess my weakness.

Okinawan student: The greatest surprise I received was very recently. I had thought that everyone had outgrown the false idea of superiority and inferiority in the Japanese group -- I thought that the idea was not Okinawan or Naichi anymore but we Nisei or we Japanese.

There are several other boys living at this boarding house besides myself. I am the only Okinawan but nobody was conscious of it. We get along very nicely and since we are all of Japanese ancestry, we never really thought to inquire whether we were this or that, as long as we got along smoothly. One day we were talking about nothing in particular, when S. started to say something not too nice about the Okinawans, not knowing that I was one. The rest of the boys became quiet all of a sudden and looked at me with "funny" looks on their faces, not knowing how to save the situation. Realizing that if S. said whatever else he was about to say, this particular boarding house was going to be awfully uncomfortable for everyone, I interrupted him,

saying jokingly, "I'm an Okinawan, can't you recognize one?" S. immediately stopped saying whatever he was going to say about Okinawans and asked me if I was joking. He tried to get out of the embarrassing position he was in and I helped him by keeping a straight face and changing the subject casually. The rest of the boys knew somehow that I was an Okinawan and felt awkward but I laughed it off. The rest of the boys have newer respect for me as a "guy who can take it." Nevertheless, I was very hurt to think that in this day a grown-up could harbor such thoughts and think that some people were "naturally" inferior.

The following statement by a Naichi student of a discussion with his mother about his Okinawan fiancee, reveals the shifting and equivocal attitudes toward intermarriage:

Mother: It is hard for me to give up my prejudice towards an Okinawan. I know that I ought to treat everyone on an equal plank whether they be Okinawans, Etas, Negroes, or Filipinos. But you must understand that we old folks have had to face a lot of resentment and prejudice from other kens from Japan proper who considered themselves better than us and marriage with their families would lead only to complications and squabbles. Okinawans are a little farther removed from the Naichis.

Son: But do you actually feel any resentment against Mi-chan for being an Okinawan?

Mother: I would not say that . . . .

Son: Then put it this way. How do the neighbors think of a marriage between an Okinawan and a Naichi? Would they gossip and object to such an idea?

Mother: If you ask that, yes.

Son: Then would you not say that of yourself in that you would feel "shame" in front of them?

Mother: Yes

A typical expression of the new definition is shown in this excerpt:

I am an Okinawan. I am as normal as any other human being, mentally and physically. My parents are aliens and speak Japanese and their native dialect; Okinawan. I speak English, Japanese, and very little Okinawan, although I can understand most everything in the latter. Ever since I can remember, my parents have told us never to marry a "Yamato-no-hito" or "Naichi." Later, someone gave me the following explanation. "Long ago, Okinawa (the Ryukyu Islands) was an independent nation, but Japan conquered her. All prefectural groups such as Fukushima, Hiroshima, Niigata, etc. on the Japanese mainland are classified as Naichi. These people call themselves Japanese; they do not consider us as real Japanese; they say we were conquered; therefore, we are low-class and inferior." I was frequently told, "Don't associate with Naichi; they will always take advantage of you, etc."

Does this mean that all my friends are Okinawans? Certainly not! I have had very few Okinawan pals; my best friends are Naichi. What does this imply? Why, simply that this problem of adjustment depends largely on the personality make-up. What do I care what nationality, prefecture, etc., my pals come from, as long as they have desirable personal qualities.

I have never had too much trouble with the Naichi-Okinawan relationship because I usually laugh things off. However, I know some young people (indoctrinated the same way as I) who have a difficult time adjusting to the situation. They are so conscious of their background it is pathetic. If they should realize how narrow-minded their attitudes are, they would lead happier lives.

Another Okinawan student also has something in the same vein:

In spite of us being Okinawans, we had to be included in the Naichi children's play group. This was due to the fact that if we were separated, the play group would be too small for any amount of fun for either group. Even if we were Okinawans, the Naichi children knew that we were just as good playmates as any other ones, and this was very important in breaking down the barrier between them and us. I think at present, the Naichi feeling of superiority over the Okinawans has almost completely disappeared. Of course, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Hawaii is largely responsible for educating the Japanese in breaking down the barriers that have existed between the two groups as well as with other groups.

Students have commented that since the late war, they have observed little in the way of children learning stereotypes about Okinawans as their older brothers and sisters had learned them. However, some students comment that there still are expressions on the part of the younger children about being an Okinawan or a Naichi. Although the old definition is passing away in this area of the play group, one still finds the old definition expressed in regard to intermarriage between the two groups. Judging from the society pages of the local papers and vital statistics reports in the papers, more and more such intermarriages seem to be occurring.

What can one expect of this Okinawan-Naichi relationship in the future? It seems that the old definition of inferiority-superiority is passing away. In its stead, equalitarian contacts are being stressed. This new definition has been fostered by the public school, the churches, and by public sentiment. Old attitudes will tend to become increasingly suspect and will be more difficult to justify. On a crucial question such as intermarriage, one can expect to find some measure of opposition. Until such a time as inter-racial or non-racial movements become an accepted part of the Naichi and the Okinawan groups as well as other groups in Hawaii, social movements within the Okinawan groups like the Hui Makaala[2] still tend to arise to meet the needs of the group.

To summarize, in the closer contacts in Hawaii and in the competition for a higher social status and a better economic position here, the in-group out-group relationship between the Naichi and the Okinawans has been intensified to a degree not found in Japan proper. Most of the feelings have been relatively covert. The first definition of this relationship that developed in Hawaii has gradually been changing to one involving the equalitarian point of view. However, in this transition from the old to the new, ambivalent feelings have arisen, which in time will tend to pass away with the older generation and their ethnocentric attitudes.

2 A social organization of second generation Okinawans in Honolulu focusing major attention in the cultural and educational improvement of their group.